Marriage among the T'u-jen of Kansu (China)

000 /Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kan-sou (Chine)/

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Introduction

.101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

144 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, is of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Remusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

/2 cont'd/

> 144 162 Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 197 These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. [113] Let us call to the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 648 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

/3/

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accus-
tomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The
fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is
what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese
proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the
philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one
used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of
Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the
Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to desig-
104 nate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor
language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term
T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

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Preliminary Notes

000 1) General necessity for marriage.

2) Necessity for male descendants.

It seems that two remarks are necessary for a good understanding of this study. It is evident that in order to judge a painting, one must not see it at night in the light of a candle, but during the day in the light desired by the artist; one must even be at the right spot to observe what the author wished to put in it; then only will one understand his work.

Now concerning marriage among the T'ou-jen, the ways of thinking of the East and the West differing completely, it is easy not to see the facts in their true light.

The ways and customs of a people find their explanation in its present-day or former ways of thinking and philosophy. Whether this philosophy be good or bad, we do not judge here, but we must see the facts while seeing through ourselves in order to understand them. To observers with different ways of thinking, the same facts may seem rational and honest to some and puerile and full of horror to others.

1. General Necessity for Marriage

581 589 We Europeans do not find it strange to meet people who are not married; we are not surprised to see bachelors in our offices, at our meetings, at our parties; the idea does not occur to us that being unmarried incriminates them; although deep down we feel that this situation is abnormal, we find, outside of religious principles, enough reasons, if not to justify being single, at least to excuse it.

/6/ Now such a point of view does not exist among the T'ou-jen. No T'ou-jen will understand that a man who is not a monk, who is not a lama, is not married unless he is physically incapable of it.

581 589 183 Also among the T'ou-jen it is polite to find out whether all the sons are already married; to satisfy this law of marriage, one will go

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/7 cont'd/

627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has
been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.

181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest
of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: *Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis* /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order.

/9 cont'd/

181 595 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of thinking has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

[587] The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing ones' services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

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Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

1. Parties to the Marriage

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It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

582 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

M /12 cont'd/

582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different families. M [171] There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M 551 Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

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M 551 171 HM 551 614

1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./

P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

M /12 cont'd/

551 Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all
171 the aristocracy now became the Vassals of
HM the clan of Mongol and accepted its name.
551 For the first time the united nation had a
614 common name and the name soon became
so glorious that every nomad was proud to
call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M
551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against mar-
582 riage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to
178 that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan.
This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly
551 equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same
613 name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family
M and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family
[764] cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also
M be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that
582 since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the
605
171 marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

Mo /13 cont'd/

582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
171

A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

Mo
Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
582 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters.
171 Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

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1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's excellent study, Social Organisation of the Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ou, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political
Ma 197 unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the Manchu language is an amalgamation of the Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced
Ma 144 above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the intercourse and assimilation of different groups,

Ma 144 /14 cont'd/

Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded . . . that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

Ma Mo 171

Ma Mo 582

"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 582 605

/15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

/15 cont'd/

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1. "There is a very peculiar form of the marriage, which the Manchus designate by a special term 'tarsilambi,' i.e. I am marrying my tarsi, i.e. my father's sister's daughter. This form is very seldom used, because according to the Manchus in this matrimonial combination the brothers and sisters (of a clan) become parties of a match-maker's affair; as the results of a possible displeasure of the young man in a foreign clan, there can be anticipated some, lack of good terms between the clans, which may sometimes result in conflicts. This term 'tarsi' designates My relationship with the progeniture of the women of senior class of my father's clan, and progeniture of my mother's class clan. If we agree to the supposition that some time ago the Manchus were organised into materline clans, this classificatory term and the peculiar rights of bearers in regard to marriage rights will be very clear...." Shirokogoroff, p. 70. /Cited in English./

But this practice, outside of the debatable matriarchal point of view (since it can also be met with in a patriarchal organization), presents another social aspect of great importance, as we shall see later.

"Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou /Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of Kweichow/" by Schotter, Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320: "A custom which is obeyed among the Hĕ-miao, requires that the sister's daughter marry the brother's son. This is what is called 'restoring seed furnished to another family.'"

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When I had just arrived in the region of Sining and before I had studied the question of the T'ou-jen, an old T'ou-jen from Choang-niou-keou (region of Lien-tch'eng) told me that, according to an old tradition, the T'ou-jen had come from Yunnan and from Kweichow to fight the Tibetans of the Sining region. This piece of information was responsible for my reading the study concerning the Miao in Anthropos. It is historically certain that the T'ou-jen we are writing about did not come from either Yunnan or Kweichow: but according to the Hoa-i-i-iu (note communicated by Father Mostaert), we know that the Mongols who were subdued in the reign period of Hung-wu /1368-98/ in the Ming period waged war in southwest China: Thus it is possible that among the T'ou-jen there are Mongols whose ancestors waged war on Yunnan....This fact may provide an explanation for this tradition. We shall deal with this subject in a study on the history of the T'ou-jen.

A brief glance at the Miao peoples has become indispensable since the studies of Father Wilhelm Koppers, "Tungusen und Miao, ein Beitrag zur Frage der Komplexitaet der altchinesischen Kultur /The Tungus and Miao, A Contribution to the Problem of the Complexity of Ancient Chinese Culture/," Mitt. d. anthrop. Ges., Vienna, Vol. 60, 1930, pp. 306-319, as well as the one in Anthropos, 1930, p. 981, "Die Frage des Mutterrechtes und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-Right and Totemism in Ancient China/."

/16 cont'd/

582 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to
605 marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today
184 among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-
[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that
582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

Mo /17 cont'd/

581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

Mo 614 581 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutually exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

000 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)

Mo MI 582

Mo MI 584

1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered closely akin to their own....Owing to the constant feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

Mo MI 584 /18 cont'd/

> agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./
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> Mo 104 581 The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo 582 The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

> 2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. Mo [771] When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

Mo /18 cont'd/

582 When the T'ou-jen give their children in marriage, nowadays at least, they attach importance to the degree of generation of the two parties: thus a nephew will never be able to marry his aunt, or an uncle his niece. The two parties must always be of the same generation.

Mo 587 563 This same law operates among the Chinese. Among the T'ou-jen, however, it is not so strict as among the Chinese in the case of marriages between the widow of an elder brother and his younger brother. /19/ Among the Chinese of the country, an elder brother will be able to marry the widow of his younger brother, but never vice versa.

Mo 582 563 As for marriages of T'ou-jen with Chinese girls, they are strongly discouraged by the elders of the tribe as being the great cause of their denationalization. Nonetheless, nowadays these marriages are more and more frequent, all the more so because of the example set by the clan chiefs. These unions precipitate the progress of the T'ou-jen people toward absorption in the Chinese nation.

Mc 563 582 Very often one sees the T'ou-jen give their daughters in marriage to Tibetans. The seminomadic Tibetans, their neighbors, even seem to seek them because of their fecundity, which is well known in the region. On the other hand, it is astonishing to see how easily T'ou-jen girls adjust among the Tibetans and adopt their ways.

Ma (1)
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1. Among the Manchu the laws regarding the "parties" to a marriage are more complicated than among the T'ou-jen. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, p. 65 and following, says:

> The women that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress, i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: (this law is explained as follows:) the general prohibition is to

/19 cont'd./

Ma 582

> marry within the "mokun" two groups of clan members, who have two different ancestors in the fifth /sic/ senior class, and form of them two exogamic groups (mokun) with separate spirits, rites and shamans. 2. the facultative prohibition, i.e. the prohibition to marry within that clan, with which the man's clan is bound by some relationship of clans, or religious connection, or some degree of relationship within the mother's clan: (which comes back to the following formula:) all my class (of generation equal to mine) women belonging to other clans are my facultative wives; 3. the incidental prohibition... (for example, for widows, widowers, etc.). /Cited in English, with interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

Mc 582

In the same way, marriages between young people of neighboring families are strongly discouraged. In this regard the T'ou-jen quote the Chinese saying: I iuen pou tso leang kia, toei men pou ts'in ts'in kia: "Two different families do not live in the same courtyard, /20/ one does not contract marriage with the family opposite." This is to avoid difficulties which might then easily arise.

Mo 584

2. Social Position of the Future Partners with Respect to Marriage

Separation of the sexes does not exist among the T'ou-jen as it exists among the Chinese, either before or after marriage. Let us, nevertheless, beware of concluding from this that there is betrothal preceding marriage. Among the T'ou-jen there is no mutual promise of marriage made between the interested parties with a certain solemnity; moreover, love does not precede the unions. The future partners do not make their choice after knowing each other.

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584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it,
178 and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.*

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

/21 cont'd/

584 poor to ask for a girl in marriage and which later, having arrived in easier circumstances, has the means for it. These are always exceptional cases.

As a general rule parents ask for a girl in marriage for their son when she is very young, that is, when she is three or four years old. It even happens rather often that the promise of marriage is made before the birth of the children, provided the children to be born are of different sex. The promise is then repeated in front of the guests at the churching feast, and later the official betrothal formalities will be carried out. (1)

> 1. Match-making can be effected before the birth of the bride and groom. In this case if the sex of the child does not correspond to the supposition of the parents, they await the birth of other children. The Manchus suppose this custom to be of a very old origin. Shirokogoroff, p. 72. /Cited in English./

582 /22/ One could conclude from the above that the ages of the partners do not differ too much in many cases. In general, however, with the exception of the case last cited, it must be said that the bride is usually one or two years older than the groom; it even happens, and unfortunately the case is not rare, that the bride is 17 years old when the groom is scarcely ten or eleven. These are sad unions, arranged by selfish mothers-in-law, who see in the daughter-in-law a servant, and in the marriage of the son a lightening of their own work. These marriages take place when the girl is 17 and the son is still a child in all the full sense of the term. (1)

> 1. The brides are about the same age of the grooms i.e. 21. However it occurs very often that the bride is older than the groom. I know some cases when the wives are 5 - 6 years older than their husbands.

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> This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

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584 The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

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787 Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

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> 1. Voyage à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

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HM 584 (among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, HM M [805] nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household. The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also M HM 582 called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

M 584 787 The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

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584 787 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case examined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 793 [771] But by whom is this horoscope read?

The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable, 583 584 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

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583 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from any-
584 one; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely
584 binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....

Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

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584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [777 corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and 431] a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

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a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year, they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints....In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

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The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

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Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

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of the husband-to-be, accompanied by the go-between and several of his /27/ close relatives, goes to the home of the father of the wife-to-be. He brings at least a sheep, cooked and cut up: this is what is called toue lei, several containers of brandy and some khadag. The representatives of the husband-to-be, after they have expressed to the girl's father the reason for their visit, with the characteristic prolixity of Asiatics, place on a dish before the Bourkhan (religious picture or statue) the head and other pieces of the sheep and the khadag; they light candles and prostrate themselves several times before these images; then they all sit down, and the visitors regale the parents of the bride with wine and the rest of the sheep. They must at the same time give to each of them a khadag or several copper coins, which are thrown into a cup filled with wine. This custom is known under the name of takil iabikhou; it corresponds to our handshake. The conversation turns principally on the livestock demanded for the girl: in these cases people without wealth defend their interests as stubbornly as if it were a purchase. Well-to-do people do not stipulate the number of livestock, and rich Mongols, and especially princes, take pride in not discussing the matter, relying on conscience and mutual trust. With them

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> this object must naturally be very important; with poor people the bride price rarely exceeds 400 head of livestock of different kinds.
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> Schotter, Anthropos, notes on tribes...., p. 344: At their betrothal the Inag-hoang-miao barbarians give a horse as earnest.

Mo 584 This day is again a lucky day, chosen in advance. The day being set, leave is taken, and the go-between returns to the family of the son-in-law to congratulate it on the good intentions he believes he has found at the home of the bride's parents.

On the day agreed upon the go-between comes to get final instructions before going to the bride's home. At the bridegroom's home he finds two relatives of the family, who are good speakers and have been invited by the family to accompany him and help him in the discussion. Tea /27/ and gin are drunk, and the family earnestly begs the three friends to do their utmost to avoid big expenses for them.

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Having arrived at the bride's home with the traditional small jug, they find two relatives of this family also, who have been invited to take the family's part in the discussions. They do not delay in beginning after the presentation of the gin. On both sides care has been taken to invite the best speakers. These discussions differ entirely from those of the Chinese.

When the T'ou-jen have the floor, they keep it for ten, fifteen minutes without being interrupted; they make real little speeches. They tell you the most ordinary things with imperturbable seriousness, and everyone present listens with the liveliest interest. One after the other starts over again from the beginning; there is no end to it. On the whole they know in advance on both sides, considering the circumstances of the family, where the discussion will end. But /28/ custom requires a brilliant contest in eloquence. One side demands the impossible, and the other offers a ridiculous minimum. Finally, they end up by following the customs which are the rule.

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583 For families of average circumstances (I am speaking of the years 1915 - 20) they decide that they will pay for the daughter-in-law:

Twenty-four strings of cash (a string of cash at that time was worth about one dollar, and the dollar about three francs).

In addition there will be given 24 pieces of cloth for making clothes, of which 12 of the best quality are to be used for the outside of the garment and 12 of lesser quality for the lining; there will be green, black, red, and violet pieces of cloth (eight feet of calico were equivalent to a piece of Chinese cloth).

After that a mare is still necessary, and its age and quality will be decided after a new discussion.

[565] They will recall with pride the ancient tradition of the race, which has never permitted marriages without the giving of mares. Among poor families, by force of circumstances, they do without this tradition, but custom always requires that it be recalled even so.

In general, in rich families payment will consist of:

25 dollars,
16 or 20 pieces of silk or satin,
60 strings of cash,
and finally the traditional mare.

There are exceptions to the rule; thus I have known a case where 50 strings of cash, two pieces of cloth, one mare, and two cows were given; another case in which were given 24 strings of cash, 14 pieces of cloth, and a mare; still another in which 30 strings of cash, 18 pieces of cloth, a mare, and a cow were given.

584 When an agreement has been reached, the final formalities are still to come. The speakers will make apologies: "We must admit," they will say, "that the sum and /29/ gifts on which we have agreed do not come up to your expectations. But we have had in mind, above all, the happiness of your daughter; the better off the bridegroom's family will be, the happier your daughter; and then also harmony between the two families is worth more than all the gold in the world; your daughter will be the first to profit by this arrangement; she will be treated all the better; in short, you also want her good fortune above all." Then they will praise the

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584 virtues of the bridegroom and his family and predict such a fine future for the girl that the whole family will end up by being satisfied in spite of themselves.

However, they will leave a door open in case the bridegroom's family should refuse their assent. They will explain therefore that they will still have all the trouble in the world in having their propo-
[583] sitions accepted by the bridegroom's family. When they leave they will take back on behalf of the bride's family two jugs of gin, three feet of green cloth, and three lengths of green cord for plaiting in the hair.

The bridegroom's family waits with impatience. A report must now be given of the whole discussion, and especially of its practical conclusions. Then it is the other side of the picture, and with all the eloquence of which they are capable, they try to present the propositions as being eminently advantageous; they put forth the difficulties they have had to overcome in order to get there, then also, there is the girl who will make an admirable wife....

Ordinarily they resign themselves and accept the propositions; but it also may happen that the discussions have to be undertaken again at a second session, which is not auspicious. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare that they do not succeed in coming to terms and in reaching an understanding.

587 Let us note that in the marriage of a girl, even though there is only one single go-between, no marriage contract is written nor even a list of the gifts to be offered; while in the marriage of a widow, although there are two go-betweens, a contract is necessary, duly signed by the widow's parents-in-law and the go-betweens.

/30/ 6. Delivery of the Presents Demanded for the Bride

583 a) When do they proceed to the delivery of the presents?

In the exceptional case where the girl is thirteen or fourteen years old when she is sought in marriage, then during the month following the choice of gifts, they try to offer what was agreed upon.

In other cases where the formalities were decided when the girl was still little, they usually wait until she has reached her

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583 eleventh or twelfth year. It may also happen that everything is given at one time after one year, and again that it is done in two or three installments. The custom is therefore that it takes a long time. (1)

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> 1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: Among the Mongols the payment of the bride price is not always made at one time; it takes place at different periods according to the wealth of the bridegroom, and these payments are sometimes extended for a period of six or seven years. The animals are delivered in the fall, each female is counted as two head.

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Mo 584 But why these beatings about the bush which seem so petty? It is because we are dealing with practical people who consider everything, even the life and death of the girl. Indeed, if the girl were to die after the earnest has been given, the latter would not be given back; even if by chance there is another younger daughter in the family, one would not have the right to demand her to replace the dead girl. Nevertheless, if the families are well disposed and sincerely want to be allied by the marriage of their children, the negotiations are begun again, and they end up by giving the younger daughter after receiving several pieces of cloth and several dollars in compensation. Likewise, if the bridegroom dies and there is another younger unmarried son, one does not have the right to demand the bride for him; but there is always a way to reach an understanding, as in the preceding case, all the more because the difference in age between husband and wife /31/ is not taken into consideration among the T'ou-jen. It is therefore the general rule not to be in a hurry to give the earnest. However, there are laudable exceptions; it happens that more correct people are found who after two or three months fulfill this obligation.

/31 cont'd/

584 This mania for exploiting one another, which shows one small aspect of the race, is manifested at different times in the matrimonial customs; but this aspect being general, it does not offend any T'ou-jen.

583 b) How does one proceed to the delivery of the presents?

The go-between goes to the home of the bride, this time with two jugs of gin, stoppered with the lozenge and tied with the wool. The purpose of the visit is twofold: the first is to set the day of the ceremony, the second is to try to bargain again on what had been agreed upon to spend for the girl, "for the bridegroom's family, is very poor, they have recently had misfortunes, losses of livestock, unforeseen expenses; in spite of all their good intentions they have not yet been able to buy the full number of required gifts; in short, it will be necessary to be generous this time and give ever so little 'face' to the go-between...."

583 It is good form to yield at least something. When they yield,
584 they proceed by pairs, for example two strings of cash, two pieces of cloth....The concessions made, the day of the ceremony is set.

584 If the daughter-in-law's family is poor and the son-in-law's wealthy, the go-between will propose to the latter that they invite the poor family to their home so that the ceremony can take place impressively. In this case, the earnest will be given at the groom's home in the presence of the go-between.

583 The delivery of the presents is generally not made without ceremony. It is the occasion of a little festival in the bride's family, in which the go-between, the groom's father, his maternal uncles, his older brothers, the advocates of a little while ago, in all seven or eight people, participate.

/32/ The go-between, taking the jug brought from the groom's home, offers to all the bride's family a tiny cup of gin; then he
[301] spreads on a table the marriage gifts, to which have been added: two artificial flowers which will be stuck in the bride's hair, two bricks of rouge, a piece of black crepe which will serve as a veil, a pair of eardrops, a pair of artistically embroidered shoes.

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future
576] father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their
foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same pros-
tration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting
on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They
[524] are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are
only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at
ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and
584 that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the
assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young
again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three hand-
fuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune
and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

/33 cont'd/
583 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to
584 share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.
584 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four
788 times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:
539

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all
[262] present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/34 cont'd/

Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in Mo [801] marrying them off. Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

Ma 582

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

/35 cont'd/

584 goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten
[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[585 In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the
178] third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people
whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and
less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests

/36 cont'd/

584 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[583 431] For people of average means, at this second settlement, they ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, -- "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families, I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

584

[273] /37 cont'd/

pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agreeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

585 Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

584 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual...by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

583

/38 cont'd/

> 583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of
> $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan
> refuses, the wedding may be adjourned
> for a period of two years. They can refuse
> to give the bride three times, but finally
> they are obliged to give her without
> supplementary "kalin". In such case,
> 582 for the bride the age of 27 years is limit
> beyond which she cannot be kept in her
> clan. So that the matrimonial periods
> are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20...
> However if the matrimonial parties are
> on good terms the payment of the supple-
> mentary "kalin" can be omitted. Some
> days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the
> bridegroom's clan people bring the supple-
> mentary "kalin" which they transmit
> solemnly to the bride's father or his
> substitute. /Cited in English./

/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583 About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

Mo /38 cont'd/
583 for they know that after her departure they will not be able to get
584 anything more.

10. Marriage without Ceremonies

Mo
585 When a girl has reached marriageable age and the families are too poor to permit themselves the luxury of grand festivities, they proceed in a very simple fashion which they call /39/ "marriage without ceremonies," that is, the girl is taken away without any ceremonies. That is always done the last month of the year, on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day. The mother-in-law in the company of the go-between goes to get the girl. They take tea with her family, they are served a piece of meat and some bread; then the two of them take the girl away on foot. If the distance is great, they go on horseback. When they arrive at the home of the groom, there is no festivity. The bride, still wearing her hair as unmarried girls wear it, becomes a member of the family as an unmarried girl. (1)

Ma
585 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 65: The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take into the family where there is a boy a small girl for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17, 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family. P. 75: When the girl reached the age of 15, 17 years, they make a very modest wedding. /Cited in English./

/39 cont'd/

585 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the last month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same should the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou-jen, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
602 of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordźiwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 349] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 30 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

/42 cont'd/

585 The guests have been arriving since ten o'clock in the morning, some on foot, others on horseback. The guests' mounts are attached to ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground in the area in front of the door, just as nomads do in front of the tent. All the neighbors, on duty, await the guests in this area, who as they arrive are conducted into a room in the side buildings of the courtyard. In the room, on the wall facing the door, is hung a religious image. The guest bows to it, kneeling. A Chinese has taken up his stand on the k'ang; he holds a brush in his hand and writes in the register of festivities the name of the guest and notes conscientiously the gifts he brings. The master of ceremonies takes these, thanks the guest, claims that he has been too generous, and the guest /43/ leaves the room.

585 43/ According to custom, each guest must bring eight loaves of bread cooked in steam; as for the rest, he gives as he pleases. A present of four or six feet of red or green cloth is usually enough. If the guest is an intimate friend of the family, he will give a few feet more, or he will offer a less ordinary kind of cloth, or he will add to his gifts 800 cash strung on a red cord with a strand of white wool at the end. Every family keeps these registers of donors; for later in similar circumstances the register is there to inform them as to the fashion in which the givers will be treated in their turn.

[604] Custom determines only the presents the mother's family will offer. The maternal uncles of the bride must give her a skirt; the maternal aunts give her a pair of boots or a pair of parti-colored sleeves, or a piece of cloth ten feet long. These formalities taken care of, the guest is conducted into the front building where he greets the heads of the family and is immediately served tea with milk and some bread. Having drunk his cup of tea, he leaves the room to make room for other guests and to mingle with the group which is standing in the courtyard.

585 Toward two o'clock in the afternoon no more guests arrive; everyone takes his place in the courtyard in front of the tables set up, the women on one side and the men on the other. If there is a guest of note, he takes his place at the table of honor, which backs
[604] up to the front building, with the maternal uncles of the bride.

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/
264 guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical
[285] "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many
people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into
273 about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other
after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like
585 the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main
262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn.
264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to
give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a
time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to
[415] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a
saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con-
[263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-
jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of
the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento,
[263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are
thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 cont'd/
585 262 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
264 fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the
leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the
T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the
sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen
spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this
world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a
spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered
with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or
on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here
the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served
whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the
Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight
guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the
585 nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
262 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organization
of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In
the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an
ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom,
and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to
give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a
mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according
to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the
guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although
at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

M /46 cont'd/

231 pigs. With their *tsao tchou*, *i.e.*, "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.

M 585 431 583 They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is presented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:
1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585 1. Timkovski, *Voyage à Péking*, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 431 583 For the son-in-law:
1) Chinese cap
2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan *k'ata*, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. *K'ata* (Tibetan, *khabtags*) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
585 431 583 602 [287] For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or *k'ata*
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big *k'ata*, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings....It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olantsh'ab, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

/49 cont'd/

585 604 The master of ceremonies moves toward the girl's maternal uncle, makes three bows in the Chinese manner, and invites him to take his place beside her. The uncle comes forward, stands beside the girl. The assemblage rises and stares silently at the scene

The master of ceremonies presents a cup of wine to the maternal uncle and invites him to empty it. He reiterates the gesture three times. After this he offers to the seated girl two cups, which she grasps in each hand; he puts in them a red lozenge and pours wine in them. She holds the full cups in front of her at the level of her mouth. At this moment the master of ceremonies makes this speech to her:

"Your maternal uncle, the master of your bones, is at your side; the whole family is present here; your departure is set for tomorrow. From the time of our ancestors, at the dividing up of the family property, one whole part used to revert to the son, and to the daughter half of this amount. Present times no longer permit such a division, there comes to you no more than several pieces of clothing"; then, he names one by one the gifts which the family gives her and shows them to those present, without forgetting to state the color, the quality of the fabric.... He likewise enumerates the gifts prepared for the son-in-law and his family. Addressing himself again to the girl, he says, "Your parents have certainly done all that they could for you; and they would have done more, but their means did not permit it. Be glad, be very grateful to your parents, do not forget them, see, your maternal uncle and the whole family will always be 'at your back.' " Then the girl weeps bitterly, and according to custom she must manifest the greatest sorrow.

The whole assemblage is under the spell of the moment, a tear forms in many eyes. Two women come /50/ to get the girl and take her back....

585 614 604 This ceremony gives one something to think about, all the more because it is not explainable in a patriarchal organization where the daughter is the true property of her father, her grandfather, or rather the paternal clan. What is this maternal uncle with all his clan doing, he who will always be the protector of the girl, who will always be "at her back?" This duty is really incumbent on the paternal clan.

M /50 cont'd/

585 614 604 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 795 771 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is without question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M [627] After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are invited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M 585 583 /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests, and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM 585 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/51 cont'd/

HM 585

HM [262]

affinal kin of the girl. The young man, accompanied by his family and friends, sometimes up to a hundred persons, goes to the father-in-law's with several dishes of cooked mutton; the rich have up to 20 different dishes brought along with a great quantity of brandy and khadak; all the guests are already assembled in the yurt of the latter. After they have worshiped the idols, they present khadak to the father-in-law, the mother-in-law, and the closest relatives. Then all the guests go out from the yurt, sit down in a circle, and the meal begins; it consists of meat, wine, and tea in bricks. When the feast is over, the husband with his followers sometimes goes to repeat it at the homes of other close relatives of the wife-to-be. This feast is called khorim kourghetzou, "offer of the nuptial feast." Then it is that the husband-to-be, and often his father and mother, receive rich clothing on behalf of the future wife. Moreover, the husband does not have the satisfaction of courting his future wife, for according to the custom of the Mongols, from the day of betrothal she must avoid any meeting not only with her lover but even with his parents. It is also at this feast that, in response to the solicitations of the future husband's mother, the two parties consult the lama who chooses a lucky day for the wedding.

M 585

The festivity draws to a close. The master of ceremonies who has counted the guests has ascertained that he cannot keep them

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. 583 431 This is called *pou fen tse*, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-niewa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

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1. *Chong* is probably the Buddhist *Garuda* called *K'yun* in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei* /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

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> allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Nâgi, his fangs /talongs?/ piercing her breast.

/Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

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831 A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-man-souo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

/53 cont'd/

539 831 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes her big hatpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-tewa. (1)

585 533 539 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

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[171] 1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurousseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

/54 cont'd/

539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of *t'ou-se* of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of *t'ou-se* of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the *mari funigu*, or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[411] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

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Mo 585 231 492 The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house... in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

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sun sets.... In the carriage sits a woman of 30 - 35 years old. She as well as other people who follow the carriage must have all her children alive and can belong to any clan except that of the bride. She has with her a piece of raw pork and 20 - 30 Chin. small rolls put in a sack. The meat is called "exchanging mother's flesh." The woman gives it to the bride's mother and at the same time takes the bride. This is exchange /56/ of the bride (mother's flesh) against the pork.... In the carriage there also sits a driver.... Before the carriage ride on horseback the bridegroom and his aid...before them rides a man who burns...Chinese crackers... before this man ride two or four men with Chinese lanterns.... /Cited in English./

[43]

P. 78: If anyone meets the bridal caravan, he must leave free way to the caravan... even if this would be a governor general, he would do the same. If two bridal caravans meet on the road they stop, and the free pass is decided by a duel of the two bridegrooms. During the duel they burn Chinese crackers all time. /Cited in English./

P. 79: At the moment of arrival of the caravan, the gate of the bride's house is opened widely to receive the bridegroom.... Then they approach the door of the principal house. The door must be shut. They knock at the door and somebody, always a young man, asks from inside, who has arrived and for what purpose.

Ma /56 cont'd/
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> Then the bridegroom's party without saying the purpose of their visit insists in being let in. After long negotiations they let them enter in, for a price of 5 - 7 - 9 pieces of red paper, symbolising money, some black beans and charcoal, all made of paper. If the weather is not cold the negotiations are very long. /Cited in English./

Mo 583 585 /56/ When they have arrived at the home of the bride, they find the door shut and barricaded. They knock at the door for a long time, calling the people. The women answer from inside, but they refuse to open the door. Then the companions beg them by singing. This song is improvised on a desired /voulu/ melody. They sing, for example, that they have come by mountains and valleys..., which they are careful to describe...; the family is renowned for its hospitality; why don't they open up this time? They are so tired, they come from so far, they are good people..., but they do not speak of the purpose of their trip. The women answer by singing, "We will open the door to you if you can answer our questions." Again improvisations. An example: Did the sun precede the moon, or the moon the sun? Did the bow exist before the arrow, or the arrow before the bow? Did the jug exist before the cup, or the cup before the jug? Answer: The moon was before the sun..., etc. Why so? The sun came second for heating; the bow followed the arrow for the happiness of military men, the pitcher for the good of hosts.

Mo 585 It is obviously very pointless; it is endless; let us note that one is quickly in trivialities and broad jokes.

The women end up by drawing the bolts noisily, but they continue to push against the door. The men /57/ outside push with vigor, while somebody throws an avalanche of water on their heads from above. The son-in-law keeps his distance. Finally the door is opened. (1)

Miao AE5
Lolo AE4

/57 cont'd/

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1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribes du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. -"Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan," in Politique de Pékin, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

Mo 585 782 After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

Mo 582 292

585 /57 cont'd/

[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and this," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in [777] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/58 cont'd/

> 585 777 their good fortune is attached to the persons of their children, to the animals they raise, to the grain they cultivate. When a daughter is given in marriage, it is good fortune which goes away; when animals are sold, it is wealth which abandons them.... Now to keep good fortune and wealth from leaving the family, they take from the braid of the daughter given in marriage the two red strings, which they attach to the tang hsia, they take hairs from the animals, they keep some grains of the cereals they sell. Favors received from spirits cannot be sold; so they believe they are in order with the spirits by keeping a souvenir of the favors received. They will therefore kneel before the tang hsia as before the spirits.

585 family's good fortune may not go away with the daughter who is leaving the home. The son-in-law takes the new comb he has brought, passes it three times through his own hair, then three times through that of his bride. The third time he leaves it in her hair and goes out of the room.

The door of the room is closed, and the women inside comb and dress the bride. The two recent singers /59/ had brought a red
[823] garment for her, because the bride must be dressed all in red today. Nevertheless, she sometimes covers her head with a green veil. The two companions stay in front of the bride's room and intone the song of the toilette while the women inside hurry to finish their task. They are heard singing, "We who are named Li have come to the home of the honorable Wang family with a comb having an even number of teeth; we have not learned to comb hair, we beg you, comb the girl's hair with art in our place.... We have brought earrings, we beg you to put them on her," and so on for all the pieces of attire.

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons....On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

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292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

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[262] Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer bock in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a din. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while ghe girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount in the saddle; it is th[illegible] take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

Mo /60 cont'd/
585 of the house. Her father, also on horseback and holding the iang hstia in his hands, gesticulates like a madman, pretending to stop his daughter's departure. His horse is led three times around the open space; he calls his daughter with loud cries. She answers each time, shouting, "I am here, yes, here." On the third time around the father on horseback is led into his house but on the side opposite to the one from which his daughter will go.

The side from which the departure is to be made has been carefully indicated by the diviner; it is the way on which the spirit of good fortune awaits. Then the women of the family, those of the neighborhood, and the neighborhood girls run after the bride's horse and keep him from advancing. The singers throw them some cash to make them let go the bridle, but the girls continue to follow the bride the whole day. They hold each other's hands, sing, and caper. This scene does not lack picturesqueness and poetry. They follow their friend to the bridegroom's house, and they go around the farm, /61/ singing and holding each other by the hand. The bridegroom's family then gives each girl three cash, three loaves of bread cooked in oil, and a piece of pork, and they go back without going in. (1)

Mi [585]

> 1. Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year, Vol. 2, p. 320: If you meet a group of young Miao girls on the highway, it will be a bride going on foot with her companions to her husband's house. The joyful troop will come back the same day of the wedding.

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585 This practice is called āgu d́žürad́žin (āgu, i.e., "paternal aunt," term of respect for women; d́žürad́žin, i.e., "to follow," "to run after someone"). It is the pursuit of the lady.

The bride must have a companion; for this, they always look for a beautiful young woman who is alert and resourceful, who will follow her on horseback. She is always a woman who has children; a little page, riding pillion, clings behind her.

Historical Mongolia AH2

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431/178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/62 cont'd/

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then accompany her to the paternal house where the rest of the time, which is one night or two, she plays, sings, and entertains her companions, her relatives, her neighbors, who are gathered together. The day before the one when she is to leave the paternal yurt, the lamas offer prayers according to the rite called Gouroum ki kou, and before the departure according to the San tabi-khou rite. While the yurt and the other objects are being sent, the intimate friends gather in the yurt and sit in a circle near the door with the wife-to-be, sitting as close to her as they can. (German translation: all the bride's friends gather in the yurt.) The envoys of the husband-to-be have trouble making all these people leave one by one (German translation says: "those who are to bring the bride"; it does not say that they are sent by the husband-to-be) and getting hold of the wife-to-be to carry her out of the yurt; they then put her on a horse, cover her with a coat, have her go around the sacred fire three times, then they set off, accompanied by the closest relatives; they are followed by the mother and the other relatives of the wife-to-be. The father stays home if he has not been invited the day before, and on the third day goes to find out about his daughter's health. The carrying off of the wife-to-be is not ordinarily effected without strong opposition, especially if there are several vigorous men among her

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/62 cont'd/

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friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

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Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

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Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

2: Schram--70 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (máster of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her goodbye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

/63 cont'd/

Ma 585

> the ritual meal. When the meal is ready they invite him to take a very modest place near the door on the right "k'ang," while his aid and driver occupy the principal place. The bridegroom and his aid do not steal the chopsticks. When the bride is put into the carriage the bridegroom goes to thank the bride's mother,...before going away he prays once more the bride's clan's spirits. (The presents from the bride's family and from her mother's brother and his wife are taken to the son-in-law's home the very morning of the wedding day. The women who accompany the convoy will open the boxes with much ceremony and will allow the gifts received by the bride to be admired....) /Cited in English with connecting phrases in French, indicated by parentheses./

/64/ 13. Arrival of the Bride in her New Family

Mo 585

The procession has arrived at its destination. Two young women are there waiting for the bride outside the great door. Their ages and the animals of their cycle must be in complete harmony with those of the bride; moreover, they cannot be widows nor pregnant, and all their children must be alive.

The bridegroom helps his bride down from her horse; first he puts her on a little Chinese table and then on a piece of red or white felt in front of another little table on which have been placed two cups of tea and two plates of bread. A bushel of bran has been put at the door. With the bride standing on the felt, the two women hasten to put under her arm a small jug of gin in which a pair of chopsticks have been put. A piece of red cloth covers the neck and

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782] As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two

[354] 1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [262] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages.... In front of the [262 604] table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bridegroom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

/66 cont'd/

585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room; presentation of gifts; notation in the register....(1)

[171]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

/67/

14. Gifts of the Bride's Family to that of the Bridegroom

585 431 All the guests remain standing at the back of the courtyard, and it is before them that the presents from the bride's family are taken out of the boxes. They are displayed on the doors inside the rectangle of tables. First the new clothes which her parents give to her are handed over to the bride, and her maid of honor hurries to put them on her in her room. There are also the new clothes for the bridegroom, who likewise puts them on.

The bride's family's master of ceremonies takes his place inside the rectangle of tables near the sacred fire; The bride, dressed in her new clothes, the veil always on her head, leaves her room and is led by her maid of honor inside the rectangle on the right side of the red felt. The bridegroom takes his place beside her on the left, his arm touching the bride's. A young man places himself behind him; the bride's maid of honor is behind her. They kneel on the pieces of felt, having in front of them a table on which two lighted lamps are placed, and on whose four corners are put four small packages of cash.

The master of ceremonies begins his speech: "We, the bride's family, have invited as guests the go-between, the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts of the bride, as well as their sons and daughters....." All the guests from the bride's clan come forward to take their places in the upper part of the courtyard. The master of ceremonies speaking in the name of the bride's family first presents the k'ata to each guest of the groom's family; then gin is poured for everyone. "Now," he continues, "I have a word to say: before the wolf, the dog is afraid to bark; before great men, little people are afraid to open their mouths. If what I am going to say is well said, do not praise me; if what I am going to say is badly said, excuse me.... /68/ In olden times the ancestors used to proceed to marriages only when the limits of the lands were well established. (Nobody [423] has been able to explain this passage to me; this fact seems to lack sense as much in a nomadic organization as in the present-day agrarian one in which the T'ou-jen live. Actually, today the T'ou-jen

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

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539 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuī t shian" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between, have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

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608 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

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1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no
relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure.
When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times
are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give
only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...."
Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During
the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at
rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves
several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we
stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and
the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs,
our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery!
If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would
have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the
grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather,"
continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt,
unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly
made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give
you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but
deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same
vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene
is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grand-
father must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed
in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,"
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes;
moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows;
in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have
vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

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"And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

"To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content." Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

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Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists, HM 583

/70 cont'd/

apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M 585

Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M [603-604]

Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called šürödžin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181

THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dē thurōŋ thorguē šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ńiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

/72/

585 181 THAT THE SECOND PROSTRATION BE MADE TO THE FATHER AND MOTHER AND TO THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Dē gõrda thorg̨uē āni ăwa khudugu š̌gesdu murgu.

THAT THE THIRD BE MADE TO THE PERSONS OF THE MOTHER'S CLAN AND TO THE WHOLE CLAN.

Dē gúr̍ānda thorg̨uē urug̨ tharug̨ imag̨ saru ńia̤ndu murgu.

Then in the midst of the greatest silence he continues in a solemn voice:

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD SEVEN FARMS!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD HOUSES WITH A SECOND STORY AND A VERANDA!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO SHEAR SEVERAL HUNDRED SHEEP ANNUALLY!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO MOUNT HUNDREDS OF HORSES AND RAISE HERDS OF HUNDREDS OF OXEN!

MAY YOUR SONS BE NUMEROUS: SO THAT YOU MAY SEE YOUR GRANDSONS STILL MORE NUMEROUS!

MAY YOUR FAMILY BE FECUND AND OVERFLOWING WITH PROSPERITY LIKE THE SEA WHICH OVERFLOWS!

MAY YOU BE DURABLE AS IRON!

MAY YOU DAY BY DAY BECOME RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL LIKE FIRE ON WHICH OIL IS POURED!

585 Then the old men and the parents throw some cash on the felt at the feet of the young couple. The maid of honor removes the veil from the young wife and leads her into the nuptial chamber. The two lamps which burn on the table in the middle of the courtyard are taken away to be put before the religious image, where they will burn as long as there is any oil.

[793] Let us note the absence at this marriage ceremony of any religious personnel, shaman, lama, tao-jen /Taoist priest/; let us notice in addition that it does not take place in a temple, but that it is performed in the home, under the authority of the head of the family, in front of the ancient shamanistic sacred fire, and under the patronage of "heaven and the multifarious spirits." Marriage among the T'ou-jen is then, incontestably, /73/ something other than a simple union of the sexes. The wishes for prosperity enunciated

/73 cont'd/

Mo 585

by the "old man who blesses" for the benefit of the young married couple make one see clearly what is expected of this union, on whose behalf is awaited the bringing about of these wishes, and how marriage is viewed in time; certainly it is not regarded as a temporary union. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 311. The bride is dressed in the clothes of a married woman and taken to the home of her father-in-law to make a bow (mourgoulekou) to him. She finds gathered there all the relatives and friends of her future husband. During the reading of the prayers of the ritual, her face is hidden, and following the various movements of a man who serves as a guide for her and who is always chosen as being of the same age as she, she bows first toward the fire, then toward the father and mother and the other closest relatives of her husband-to-be; all give her their blessing (youroughel) aloud. During this ceremony, clothing and other objects are distributed to them on her behalf. The father-in-law, according to a previous agreement, has chosen those which suit him....Then the bride returns to her yurt.

Ma 585

Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 82, 83, 84: Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard.... The woman who arrived with them conducts the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen: they put the bride by the bridegroom's right hand and burn Chinese incense. The bride and

2: Schram--82 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor
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/73 cont'd/

585 bridegroom kneel down three times and pray the spirits of heaven and earth. After this ceremony, the bridegroom goes to the front door, and a woman who must be happy and may not be pregnant at this time, puts on the bride's head a piece of red silk, and she leads the bride by hand to the front door. The bridegroom catches as quick as possible the silk and puts it somewhere in his clothing. After this they lead the bride in the house and put her on the k'ang behind the curtains. There she stays all the time. No men can enter there or see her, except the bridegroom who visits her several times; he must be all the time near this place. The bridegroom's parents assist him and are sitting near the bride's place. There they receive congratulations from the arriving guests while the bride's and bridegroom's parties take the ritual meal. After this they prepare the rooms and the tables for the wedding feast. Meanwhile behind the curtains is operated by some women the rite of "untying of the virginal tress". This rite is considered by the Manchus as one of the most important moments of the wedding. When the tress is untied, they extract the hair one by one on the forehead. After this is finished the bride must be left alone always behind the curtains. /Cited in English./

/73 cont'd/

16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

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784 Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

607 Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.

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562 Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

585 The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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171 The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

585 /74 cont'd/
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> of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

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264 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

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18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary [262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 431 231 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations. In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push [604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

/77 cont'd/

585 231 431 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

[571 578] It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race become apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploitation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 614 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 578 571 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage, and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

585 /78 cont'd/
578 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the
t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts
[431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured
side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
731 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen tse /"supplementary
shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

/79 cont'd/

19. Departure of the Guests

585 These wedding dinners always end in the evening. /80/ Most of the guests get ready to leave about this time. However, one always finds a group who will spend the night drinking and singing.

[278] As soon as they get ready to leave, they shut up the young bride in the room; the custom is that she does not say good-by to the guests. At the departure the young women of the family and the young neighbor women are at the door, provided with a jug of gin, to offer the stirrup cup. The departure itself constitutes a rejoicing. The women who have prepared flour of parched wheat try to smear the faces of those who are leaving. They shove each other, they chase one another; several women take the men while others daub them...they defend themselves.... The departure is always very noisy. They mount the drunkards on the horses, they go away and come back to take a last glass.... It goes without saying that drink takes many victims at these festivities. On these days one can determine the truth of the saying, "The camel, as soon as he sees the willow, can no longer be held back; the T'ou-jen, as soon as he sees gin, no longer is in control of himself." At nightfal the son-in-law enters the nuptial chamber where he finds his young wife and the maid of honor. Since the door of the room stays open, all the members of the family and the guests who have stayed late follow with their eyes the rite which takes place. The young married couple first make a prostration to the maid of honor, who wishes them all the good luck imaginable while presenting to them two cups of gin tied together with a red cord. The young couple must drink in concert. She pours for them three times in succession while the group on the outside makes the warmest wishes. The newly married couple make a second prostration to the maid of honor and to the whole group as thanks; the maid of honor leaves them, closing the door of the nuptial chamber. The lamp in the room must not go out for three nights. (1) The following morning the

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 86: (These rites are more complicated among the Manchu:)

/80 cont'd/ [MANCHU]

585 Then they put on the ground a table on which they put two candles and two small cups for Chinese alcohol. Everyone is pushed out the room. An old woman takes the bride and the bridegroom by the hands and leads them three times around the table, gives two small cups of alcohol /81/ to the young people and transmits the bride's hand to the bridegroom. During this time the 'maître des ceremonies' /master of ceremonies/ approaches the house, he has in his hands a torch and a basket with black beans and sings the nuptial song. After each couplet he throws the beans against the window; the crowd of guests repeats the above words. After the rite of transmitting of the hands is over, the crowd enters the house. The following morning the young wife with her husband go around the court, houses and kitchen garden,
[769] pray and give the sacrifices to different spirits. (Then she goes to honor the tomb of the ancestors of her new family... on her return,) the young wife stands by the principal door, puts tobacco on the pipes of all her new clan members, lights the pipes and gives them with ceremonial manner to her new relatives. They keep during the whole night a lighted lamp on the k'ang.

/81 cont'd/

Ma 585 The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses./

Mo 585 /81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [262] The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread.. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

/82 cont'd/

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She makes this last visit solely in order to receive the livestock which are part of her dowry. The parents for love of their daughter give her as many as their resources permit. Rich people give their daughter as many as one hundred head of livestock of different kinds.

Shirokogoroff, pp. 89-90: The eleventh day after the wedding, the young couple visits the young woman's mother's house. Usually only they two go, but it is also permitted to take with them a driver. No solemnity is practised. The mother and the relatives meet them at the gate, after which they serve the ritual meal of 8 cups and 9 plates. During this visit the young couple do not stay a long time in the wife's mother's house, and they absolutely cannot spend a whole night under the roof of this house. This restriction is effective only for the first visit, after which the young couple can sleep in the house. Five days after this visit, the young woman goes once more to her mother's family. This time she must be transported in her mother's carriage and with her mother's horses. She stays in her mother's house during 15 days. This custom is called "visit of my mother's clan." /Cited in English./

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

[776 782] The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/

574 [527] daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/84 cont'd/

593 574 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

422 58 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

171 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides; in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

Miao AE5

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

> In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

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1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

Miao AE5

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found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

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First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

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[262]

[1] [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

/86 cont'd/ [MIAO]

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. Mi 585] This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. Mo [585 171] The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride.. which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slit of the partition.

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

/86 cont'd

Mi 582 has the force of law, which requires
taking a wife of one's own race.
Savina, *Hist. des Miao*, p. 284.

/87/ B. Marriages of Widows as Official Wives

Mo 587 589 Summary. -- 1. Rights of widows, theory and practice. 2. Procedure for the purchase of a widow. 3. Departure of the widow. 4. Settling of accounts. 5. Marriage of widows. 6. Two typical abductions of widows. 7. Vestiges of marriage by abduction among the T'ou-jen.

1. Rights of Widows, Theory and Practice

When parents give a daughter in marriage, they say, "We have taken leave of our daughter," or "We have given our daughter," or even with a slight scorn "We have sold her"; which denotes clearly that a girl's marriage is not her own affair but definitely the business of her parents. On the other hand, when a widow marries, they say, "She has found a man," that is, that she herself has chosen her husband and that she has acted in complete freedom. Besides, the adage says, "*Ts'ien kia yeou tiĕ-niang, heou-kia yeou pen-jen*," i.e., the first marriage is arranged by the parents, subsequent marriages no longer depend on the parents but on the widow herself.

The terminology used to indicate these two kinds of marriages, as well as this adage, both throw light on the new situation of a woman in widowhood. Everything depends on her; she will remarry or not, and she will choose by herself the husband she wants. At Mo [183] least this is the theory. Yet in practice her right will be respected as long as her owners find no disadvantage in the decision taken by her. It may even happen that she is married off by force by her parents-in-law, and even that she is simply abducted by an unknown man. This is to say that everywhere *praxis differt a speculatione* /"practice differs from theory"/. But /88/ let us remember this: in case of litigation everywhere among the T'ou-jen, the rights of the widow

Manchu AG4

/88 cont'd/

Mo 587 589 will be invoked, and these rights will form the basis of the discussion.

Therefore after the death of the husband, according to custom

Mo [765] the widow will stay in the home of her parents-in-law 49 days. These days are called days of mourning. When this period of time has gone by, she will definitely be able to leave her parents-in-law and go back to her own family. That is her right.

Mo 589 Nevertheless I have known more than one case where young widows did not wait for the 49 days to pass before leaving the parents-in-law; they simply fled. This is because they had wind of the dealings of the parents-in-law, who were getting ready to sell them against their wishes. The right of widows is then a precarious right. Also a widow without sons looks quickly for a match, for she knows well that if she does not look for him herself, her hand will be forced. (1)

Ma 587

1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, pp. 70, 71: There are some peculiarities about the widow's and the widower's marriage. The widow can be remarried according to her personal choice and wish. None of her clan, i.e. her husband's clan, can force her to do it. The late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children. The widow has the right to request the separation of her family from the rest of her husband's family and in this case she inherits all the property of her husband. /Cited in English./

Ma 614 589

P. 54: If a widow declares to the Mokunda (the clan chief) that she does not wish to be remarried, but the relatives of her late husband persist on it,

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

> the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765] Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 49 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the Mo [301] /89/ negotiations have results, the two parties generally give each other a token; the widow gives her ring or her eardrops or her bracelet; the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suitor sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo 587 606 When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

/89 cont'd/

Mo 587 606 mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Ma [587] 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

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587 [585] girls; they are allowed to leave home only when the very last cash has been paid.

This is because there are so many unforeseen events in this kind of marriage: the widow can deceive the suitor, the parents-in-law can play bad tricks on him, the parents of the widow can do the same, an unknown man can abduct her forcibly at night....Because of these risks the go-betweens do not dare demand payment of the sum before the widow is at her husband's home. A second precaution to take in order to avoid subsequent difficulties consists in the writing of a contract duly signed by the whole family of the parents-in-law, which is scarcely required for the marriage of girls. The marriage contract of a widow is signed only when she has entered the house of her /91/ husband and the money is counted on the table. In the old days, it is said, they used to do without a contract, and they contented themselves with taking the widow's ring, breaking it in two, and giving half to each party.

It is in the evening or at night that they go to get widows, and that is always done without anyone's knowledge. These precautions are needed when one knows the way of thinking of the T'ou-jen, according to which the widow belongs to anyone who can take her. [589] When a widow has made her choice and the negotiations have been begun, she will no longer dare to leave her house; in the evening she will call trusted men, who will mount guard, armed to the teeth. Her parents will be careful to distribute the sa lou ts'ien /"money to block the road"/ to the neighbors: This is the money bestowed on the neighbors so that they will defend the widow in case of an abduction.

3. Departure of the Widow

A band of ten to 20 men armed with swords, sticks, guns... go away in the night and in the greatest silence to get the widow. The greater the danger appears, the larger will be the escort. The widow is at the home of her parents or has gone to some agreed-upon place. The parents will consent to the departure of their

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang
[782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her
312] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

587 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

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587 177 583 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 178 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

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587 [604] The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 583 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is [671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee [492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

/94 cont'd/

587 the darkness they heard the woman affirm that they had been mistaken;
583 that she was a neighbor who had come to keep the widow company; that she was married and /95/ that her husband was very much alive, and that the person they were looking for had hidden behind a wardrobe at the moment of danger. Consternation!

What to do? Sending back the woman was a loss of face, and then she did not want to go back.

[627
684] The incident was known everywhere in the region from the next day on; the widow's parents and the husband of the abducted woman were already getting ready to bring suit against the woman's abductors. The elders of the village knew that it was a mistake and proposed to arrange the affair amicably.

There was a palaver and a dinner, which my catchist attended. The conclusion of the discussion was that the young wife was to be taken back on horseback with a band at the head of the procession and a salvo of firecrackers. A sheep with a scarf of red cloth on its horns was to be offered, and apologies were to be made. They laughed heartily in the region at the unfortunate nephew who had presided at the abduction of his aunt.... The young widow meanwhile was married to the man of her choice.

Another very interesting incident for understanding the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of abduction and the conditions which permit it is the following:

A young widow of Pien-tan, after negotiations in due form, was taken at night to the home of a Tchao of Na-ling keou. Tchao, who was known for his avarice and had a very bad reputation, tried to pick a quarrel with the go-betweens on the subject of the widow's price, although the sum had already been agreed on. He wanted to be shrewd. Since the widow was at his house, he hoped to drag out the settlement of accounts and to get out of it by giving only part of it the agreed-upon price. After three weeks the matter was still dragging on, nothing had yet been paid, and consequently the contract had not yet been signed. New palaver in the courtyard of the pagoda two li distant from his house. Now in the absence of Tchao, a certain Tchang of Tong-keou, accompanied /96/ by several men

/96 cont'd/

587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for
living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge
him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former
parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who
did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for
they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow.
[672] Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment
was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents'
home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that
the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

/97 cont'd/

Mo 583 is opened with a din, this headlong haste while she is carried away, and why the cries and sobs of the girl?

Again there is the father who gets on the horse to make the circuit of the open area three times, gesticulating with the iang hstia and calling his daughter constantly by name, and the latter on horseback in the middle of the area answers sobbing, "I am here, yes, here"... is this not sham pursuit? Must one not explain in the same sense of abduction the custom according to which the women of the house, those of the neighborhood, and the girls continue to pursue the bride, taking the horse by the bridel? And must one not take in this sense the expression which names this custom "pursuit of the lady?"

All this nuptial procession formed by the people of the maternal clan, does it not represent the people of the family who pursue the abducted daughter?

Think again of this man on horseback behind the bride and who holds her in his arms. Is this the gesture of abduction? Why must the bride lament during the whole trip, and why according to custom can she not speak to anyone?

It is the son-in-law himself who takes his bride off her horse, his own capture. Upon arrival he shuts the girl up in a room with her companion and does not give her anything to eat or drink. And again, why this prolonged silence until after the marriage? Is it the girl sulking?

Remember the wedding festivity, which ends brutally by the taking away of animals and the scuffle which often follows; would that not mean that the parents are avenging themselves for the abduction of the girl?....And to say that still in our day, the festivity /98/ often degenerates into quarrels and fights?

All these details taken together prove the existence of the abduction (1) of girls in the past. Among these details there are

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 76: The "kalin" (earnest for the bride) is not paid or is paid after a long delay,

2: Schram--110 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5 - 6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses./

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I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

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Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

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171 p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

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583 rides pillion and holds her in his arms. But it is necessary to take account of the circumstances in which the girl is carried away; it is done running, while closing the door with a crash, while the girl sobs, etc. Surely it is not the brother's place to carry his sister outside in a case of abduction, nor that of a member of the family to ride pillion, to hold the girl in his arms. We are here in the presence of an old custom belonging to an outdated organization and whose sense and memory the T'ou-jen have lost. Ever since, it is not surprising to note meaningless actions and anomalies. Besides, it is the general law which rules customs no longer understood. The more one goes ahead in time, the less one understands them, and the more one distorts them.

/100/ . C. Polygamy

595 Summary. -- 1. Polygamy exists but is not general. 2. The four categories of polygamists. 3. Procedure for the purchase of a concubine. 4. Position of the second wife with respect to the official wife.

1. Polygamy Exists. It Is Not General

One can expect to meet polygamy among the T'ou-jen when one understands their thinking as to the necessity of having male descendants. When one considers their ideas on the subject of the position of a widow who has children in the T'ou-jen family system, as well as their way of thinking on the subject of the position of a woman, on whom rests all the work in the country. However, when one thinks of the generally poor circumstances of the people, it is easy to admit that polygamy cannot be general. The economic condition is here one of the largest factors in the question of polygamy.

The T'ou-jen, living nowadays in an agrarian state, inhabit a country which is not precisely a "promised land" for the tiller of the soil. The climate is generally cold, the country is mountainous, Mo 595 /100 cont'd/ the land is limited and rather poor. Now to procure for oneself two wives, maintain them, and raise the children who will be born is assuredly a heavy burden. It will therefore be necessary either to have the means and be more or less rich, or to be forced to it by circumstances. This is what we shall ascertain while examining the various categories of polygamists.

Let us always keep in mind the fact that since polygamy is not at all reprehensible in the eyes of the T'ou-jen, one sees it practiced by the most respectable people.

Is the number of wives limited? How many wives /101/ could one take and still remain an upright man in the eyes of the people? This is an idle question; I know of only a few cases of T'ou-jen who had three wives. I have never heard it said that a T'ou-jen went beyond this number.

2. The Four Categories of Polygamists

Mo 595 842 a) The first category of polygamists includes sterile couples. One sees polygamy where there are no children or where there is a scarcity of children. The necessity of having male children takes precedence over everything in T'ou-jen life. It is this way of thinking which gives the courage to live more poorly, sharing the daily bread, which is already very scarce, with a new life partner; it is again this way of thought which persuades the official wife and makes her allow the husband to take another partner. At the time of family disputes the sterility of the wife is the decisive argument to make her listen to reason and to preach patience and harmony in the family. Thus as a general rule, although the economic condition of the family permits it ever so little, a sterile couple will see a second wife added. (1) Fortunately, sterility always remains the

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Ma 595 842

(1) Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: → Generally speaking the Manchus do not consider polygamy as a good institution, except in the case of the woman's

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> sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842 exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171 It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589 b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

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Mo 595 589 Besides sterility and scarcity of children, which are above all the determining and positive causes of polygamy, there is another cause which is rather passive-negative in the sense that polygamy in this case is rather necessitated by circumstances which do not depend on the wife and is brought on by the situation in which she finds herself. This is the case of the widow upon the decease of the husband among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 587 595 The young widow, who has ordinarily borne several children, finds herself at this moment of her life completely perplexed: to remarry is to run toward the unknown and to abandon her children, who, in her opinion, will be unhappy for the rest of their lives. How can she live without these children? Staying in the family as a widow is advised against for her because of her relative youth... /103/ moreover one of her sons will perhaps be able to marry in two or three years...the position of mother-in-law appeals to her. The family of the parents-in-law understands also what it will lose upon the departure of this fertile woman, and what her children will lose. In this case the mother-in-law, during the 49 days following the death, proposes to the widow that she not leave them and that she marry one of the brothers of the dead man. If there are unmarried sons in the family, a match from among them is proposed to her, the difference in age between husband and wife having little importance in T'ou-jen country. If all the sons are married, she can remarry as the second wife of one of her husband's brothers, little does it matter whether he is older or younger than the dead man.

That is a case of polygamy very common among widows who have children. It is the levirate. Although in theory widows are free to go back to their maternal families after the 49 days of mourning and to marry again at another wedding, they very often remain as the second wife of one of the brothers of the dead husband in order to take care of their children. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: The widow can marry anyone of her husband's clan members except his

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> brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonial form is not practised among the Manchus. P. 70-71: The widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is strictly prohibited. /Cited in English./ This is not the case among the T'ou-jen.

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Nevertheless, the Li t'ou-se, present head of one of the most important T'ou-jen clans, forbade marriages of widows of an elder brother to one of the younger brothers of the dead man either as official wife or as second wife. The Chinese disapprove of such unions, and the Li t'ou-se made this prohibition so as not to scandalize them. He made inquiries about marriages in his clan, and punished those who had disregarded his orders. The fine consisted of a pig to be offered to his ancestors; he wished by respect for his ancestors to protest his attachment to the old customs of the race.

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/104/ The elders used to claim nevertheless that these unions were permitted by custom. (1) I believe it all the more willingly

> 1. Bartold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, (1928), p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols under the influence of Buddhism. /Cited in English./

when I think of an old custom of the Mongols, brothers by race of the T'ou-jen, which permitted the sons to marry even the concubines of their dead father, with the exception of marrying their own mother; and I believe it also because this prohibition does not exist in the other T'ou-jen clans.

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595 587 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says sarun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 589 765 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, solely in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

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[587 775] 2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

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587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo [847 children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
848] or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma [847 848] 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

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461 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes
462 to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But
595 then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.
[606] If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

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595 601 family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 762 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an understanding with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 587 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

595 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

/108 cont'd/

595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress, she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character not to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals
[578] after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is a quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

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601 The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarily, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?".

Mo 595 534 422 /109 cont'd/

Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their private tills. Mo [276] At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo 595 I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is no restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

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595 and in part that of polygamy. We wish to speak /110/ of the custom
587 which says that widows upon the death of their husbands should not
leave the husband's family but be remarried, either to the dead man's
brother or to his paternal uncle.

595 We cannot attach too much importance to this institution,
587 first because of its universality, then because of its great age and
171 the length of its existence. Indeed, this practice has been in force
among all the nomadic peoples who have wandered in the immense
steppes of northern and southern Asia, as Chinese history attests. (1)

1. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice; perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possible vice-versa. /Cited in English./ Parker, p. 19, cites this practice among the Hiung-nu; p. 85, among the Wu hwan and Sien-pi; p. 109, among the T'u-yu-hun. Barthold cites it among the Ouigour and Mongols, cf. note, p. 104.

587 As a consequence of this fact it is not a question of speaking
in any way of widow marriage for all this period of history. Widows
used to simply pass to other members of the same family. From that

/110 cont'd/

587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 11 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/111 cont'd/

600 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mitgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

595 Herbert Koenig, "Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

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595 prevails. One can marry as many women as he wants and can support.... The reasons for the polar men taking a second wife are the wish to acquire additional help in the household and the wish for children, the latter in the case of sterility of the first, whom it is economically impossible simply to divorce. Moreover, the first wife always continues to be the most respected; among the Jukagir there are various designations. For example, the second is known as "little wife," but the third is characterized as a concubine. /Cited in German./

As for monogamy, Herb. Koenig says: ... Monogamy, actually the most common because of the economic situation ... /cited in German/.

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Chapter II

Marriages by the Furnishing of One's Services or Person

583 All the marriages described above are concluded by purchase, either of a girl or of a widow. The new category of unions in which the wife is no longer bought offers to poor needy people the only means of being able to marry. People of average means will prefer to purchase a girl for their son rather than to lay themselves open to a whole series of disagreeable consequences fatally inherent in this kind of union involving furnishing of services or one's person.

So the disadvantages must be really serious for even the T'ou-jen to advise against them, these people whom we have seen to be such great lovers of small profits.

These alliances are therefore "nowadays" solely practiced by young people who have no other means of marrying and who are resigned to these sacrifices in the hope of descendants and in order to fulfill the obligation to marry.

The division of the chapter will therefore be: Furnishing of services to marry:

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583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is
indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three
or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason
of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are
too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows
without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another
person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for
good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been
given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the
Chinese tchao fou iang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will
feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for
the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age
who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves
to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves tobe
tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly
that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
584 that these unions are not highly prized. ~~In~~ such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made,
they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal
uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family
has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
421 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since
this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to
an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is
not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of
trouble.

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587 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the
593 sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue
764 to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstand-
589 ings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts
578 among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of
421 such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited
428 several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will
593 be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

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Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 587 675 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 82 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 591 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay, and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142
If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

Ma 428 589 425 /115 cont'd/ [Manchu]

property, as a rule, becomes her husband's property and through the husband this property is transmitted to a foreign clan.

Ma 597 589 If the widow has succeeded and some time later is going to be remarried, her property must be transferred to the person who can be her heir. However if the widow and her daughters keep the property during several years (5-6), the widow can remarry and reserve her rights to her property. Besides there is a peculiar form of inheritance by adoption. If the deceased has no son and his brother succeeds him and assumes the care of the widow, he gives to her his son for adoption.

Ma 428 The property never can be inherited in the female line by the relatives of motherline filiation. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 583 There are cases in which a boy can marry a girl without having to pay for her. This kind of marriage today is contracted solely by poor young people. It is the case of saying: timeo Danaos et dona ferentes /"I fear Danüs and the bearing of gifts"/. In the Orient girls are not given as presents; altruism has not evolved to this point. Because a young man loves a girl seriously, that is not a reason for giving her to him free.

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000 8. Marriage of a Girl, or the Question of Husband-sons-in-law

Summary. ---1. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services until the death of the parents-in-law. 2. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services for a fixed number of years. 3. Purchase of a girl and search for a son-in-law who will serve their parents-

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605 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) They

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

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enters his father-in-law's house, and after the death of the latter the property is inherited by the son-in-law, i.[illegible] the person belonging to another clan. The same combination will take place if the widow has no sons and marries her daughter to the person who enters her house. In this case the person must live prior to the mother-in-law's death at least 4-10 years in her home, but if the death occurs before the period expires, the son-in-law must leave the house with wife; and in the case of his wife's death during this period, he leaves his mother-in-law's house and the care of her must be assumed by her husband's clan people. /Cited in English./

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Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., 192; Anthropos, p. 121: The Man's Joining the Family of the Wife. I come now to a custom that is widespread in the polar region, which is that after marriage the man moves in with the wife. This move may be permanent or temporary. The latter case only involves living and traveling with the parents-in-law, but perhaps with obligations to them for maintenance; joining permanently, however, involves the complete adoption of the son-in-law into the family, to which he henceforth belongs as a son, as the brother of his wife. After the death of his father-in-law and the departure of the wife's older brother through

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marriage, he becomes the head of the family.... /Cited in German./

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 114. Bride Service of the Wife. Concerning the institution of bride service of the wife, examples are known to me from three places in the polar region, one of which, however, I must immediately reject as very doubtful.... The origin of this custom has not yet been determined. /Cited in German./ I cannot keep myself from thinking that we find ourselves here before badly controlled facts, and that instead of explaining them by Brautdienste der Frau, /"bride service of the wife"/, one must look for their reason for existing, either in the generosity of the bridegroom's family toward that of the poor bride or in the lack of workers in the bridegroom's family or in the case of the death of the parents, etc., as the facts prove among the T'ou-jen and the Manchu. Besides we are here before the very frequent case of the T'ong-iang si-fou-tse which is met everywhere in China, i.e., a poor girl, usually not yet marriageable, is accepted into the family as the future bride of a son. She will be married when the two reach marriageable age. It is not a question of Brautdienste der Frau nor a question of Erprobung des Mädchens /"testing the girls"/.

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606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.

606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

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606 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-
608 in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his prop-
428 erty, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property; for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not
675 punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

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M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M. 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-tê, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

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HM [606] 1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Chingis Khan, p. 87: (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Chingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börte, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

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361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law
practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they arrive
608 in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage outside
184 the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law
in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no
longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where
the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue
to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a
period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the
customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part,
and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that
the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen
girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-té, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not
count there, that there are women there who themselves send away
their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one
husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan
178 customs.

608 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
[177] husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions
decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in
order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted
in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements;
other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins.
Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families
of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is
[622] thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-se
were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and
more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the
T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

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178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
[428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
466 another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

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be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

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The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman, at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

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> young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

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> Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

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and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

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Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

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608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

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name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ancestors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the local deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrangement presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

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Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

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We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61: The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

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588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semiagrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

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[554] To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

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[847] Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

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[848] When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

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588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called *mané kan*, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called *t'ien*
848 *cheng tse*, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tse-keou, and San-tch'oan are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married sons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the *procreatio et educatio prolis* "the procreation and rearing of offspring"/ of the mother's clan.

858 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage be-
588 comes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, *wai-cheng ting kieou-kieou*, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

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858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason 588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses [428] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 792 178 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 588 593 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

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562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath
his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

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> 588 1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140:
> 574 Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution,
> 837 which is found among the polar peoples,
> 171 also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

588 This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/
574 no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in
837 marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

588 When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the
574 latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

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574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

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554 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

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593 The following item throws a singular light on this category of marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

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588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

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A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

[614] 627 586 Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges. . . .

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

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586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

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586 595 Polygamy often leads to divorce. The too marked attentions of the husband for the second wife embitter the official wife and make her look for another husband. Polygamy is the sure means foreseen by the husband to get rid of his wife whom he no longer loves in order to take another who is to his taste. Once the latter is married, the first will consent to being sold and will be forced indirectly to get another suitor. /137/

586 Bad treatment which a husband makes his wife undergo does not constitute grounds for divorce. Brutality of the husband can at the most force the wife to flee to her parents. Then the family, the maternal uncle at the head, will come to demand explanations and will require guarantees for the future; after which the wife will return home. If the brutality continues, the wife herself will look for another match, and they will proceed to divorce.

They do not divorce because of sterility but take a second wife. Bodily faults of the wife are rarely grounds for divorce. In this case, because it is hard for the wife herself to find a match; no other resort is left to the husband except repudiation.

A husband who has ascertained that his wife steals, wastes his property; etc., will try to make her life impossible and to force her indirectly to get a purchaser in order to be able to get a divorce. They are always afraid of repudiation.

In the case that the daughter-in-law does not get along with the mother-in-law, if the couple get along well together, they will try to have a division of the property so ~~that~~ they can live separately. If, on the other hand, the couple do not get along, they will proceed as in the preceding cases...and will be divorced.

Here again as everywhere else one perceives the shortcoming of the race. The pursuit of small profits manifests itself in everything. They will be patient for years, they will humiliate themselves as far as urging the wife to get another match, for the price of the sale of the wife is coveted above all. However, in the end this price will be determined in direct proportion, on the one hand, to the aversion felt for the wife, and on the other hand, to the wealth of the suitor, as well as to the passion he feels for the woman who

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586 is for sale. These prices are as a general rule higher than those paid for a widow or a girl.

The agreement is generally concluded in the following manner: /138/ After the husband and wife have consulted together and the wife has found a place to go, the husband invites to his house two go-betweens, his uncles, and his brothers. He admits to them that the situation is impossible and that he wants to get rid of his wife; that she has found a prospective husband and that she is in agreement with him. Several days later the go-betweens one evening invite "to their home" the husband, his uncles, his brothers, the wife's prospective husband, and two or three of his friends. They first discuss the price of the woman. For people of average means, the price will vary between 200 and 300 strings of cash. Then they talk over the sum demanded by the signers of the contract, who as always try to profit by these transactions. The amount of money these people claim is sometimes very considerable and can represent half of the woman's price; it is because as members of the family, they do not permit this dishonor. Then comes the discussion of the sum which will be given to the woman's parents-in-law, who are supposed to oppose the divorce also, for they especially are sensitive to this loss of face for the whole family. This sum can go from ten to 50 strings of cash. The money stipulated for a divorce is required up to the last cash. The prospective husband puts the money into the hands of the go-betweens, who will give it to those who have a right to it after the signing of the contract.

586 This contract will never be written in any house but in a re-
675 mote place, a ravine or a mountain cave. The first signer is the
587 husband. He must sign with the left thumb and the right toe; for this purpose they smear the thumb and toe with ink and put them on the contract; then come the other signers, who sign by hand. When the contract is signed, the go-betweens go to get the woman and present her to her new owner. After all is arranged and the wife is already in her new dwelling, the go-betweens go to pay a visit to the wife's parents in order to announce the new marriage of their daughter to them and to bring a little gift on behalf of the new

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586 son-in-law. At the same time they invite them /139/ to come to
675 the home of the new son-in-law to be present at the wedding, which
587 is conducted according to the custom for the marriage of widows.

The go-betweens have a rather easy task at the home of the wife's parents, since it is their daughter who has herself sought a match and has been the cause of the divorce.

586 It is superfluous to say that divorces are viewed with disfavor. They always advise against taking a wife whose husband is living, for one does not divorce a good wife. These are costly and very risky marriages in this sense, that often harmony does not prevail very long between the new husband and wife. Also the adage says: He who has money does not buy the wife of a husband who is still living; he who has cash does not acquire lands situated on river banks (for fear of erosion).

The cause of the rarity of divorces and repudiations is to be sought in the dishonor which T'ou-jen common sense believes to be attached to them. This thesis is easily proved by the fact that they precisely allege dishonor to the family in order to be able to extort a large sum of money from the purchaser. Now the T'ou-jen do not let go of their money without serious reason! This thesis is again proved by the really lugubrious circumstances which accompany divorce and repudiation; these contracts are signed at night...in a cave, signed by the toe..., while all those present talk only of dishonor.... Now these circumstances of time, place, manner are not those of an honorable act. These circumstances leave a deep impression on the people. In addition, they always speak of a divorced woman with scorn, and of the man who married her. When they say that she is a houo jen ts'i, i.e., "the wife of a living man," they do not ask any further explanation; the situation is deemed to be known.

When, on the other hand, one thinks an instant about the solemnities which accompany the weddings of girls, of the expenses which are borne, and the trouble the whole clan, /140/ the friends, and neighbors take to pay their respects; when one thinks of the blessings which are wished for the couple and begged from heaven and the multifarious spirits, it is not surprising that the T'ou-jen believe

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586 that marriage is not a commonplace act in a man's life, that it is not an affair of a few days or years, or that it is an act depending on the whims and passions of a moment. In order to understand this way of thinking one must take the facts as a whole. I think many authors speak too lightly of this question in ethnographies.

B. Repudiation

What we have called divorce is the sale of the wife by the husband, but with her consent and after she has found someone of her choice to marry.

Repudiation occurs when the husband no longer wants anything to do with his wife, so that he sends her back to her parents or her brothers or sells her in spite of her wishes. Repudiation rarely occurs; it is always very discreditable for the family as well as for the wife herself.

First the wife's parents see the material side in repudiation. Who will maintain the woman henceforward? The brothers and the sisters-in-law on their part are scarcely delighted with such a present; and then who else will want this unfortunate woman? The woman understands better than anybody her situation and her future, so she will insinuate through a third person that there is nothing left for her but suicide. Terrible weapon, which will make the husband stop and think.

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672 When repudiation is decided upon, the family of the repudiated wife begins by demanding a large indemnity from their daughter's husband for the dishonor he does them, then a sum for the support of the woman. If need be, the whole family, /141/ men and women, will go and settle down at the husband's home to make an uproar for several days; or they will forcibly take away his livestock, etc. If the husband risks daring to sell the wife against her wishes, he will find it difficult to find someone to whom to sell her; the purchaser will also be afraid of reprisals from the woman's family. It is not easy to find people willing to write these contracts for an insignificant

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586 sum or to find signers and go-betweens, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M [762] rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M 586 432 Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M 586 If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M [858] repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

HM 586 1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

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586 legitimate reason, he is obliged to give her one of her most beautiful dresses and a saddled horse in order to return to her parents' home. He keeps the rest of the dowry as the equivalent of the livestock which he has given. If a wife runs away on the sly from the home of her husband to whom she has taken an aversion and comes back to her parents, they are obliged to give her back to her husband three times. If she leaves a fourth time, then the negotiations for the divorce begin. All the wife's dowry remains [672] in the hands of the husband, and the wife's father must give him in addition a quantity of livestock determined by the authorities. This restitution, which among the richest people does not exceed 33 head of livestock, is effected only when the divorced woman remarries, unless the parents for love of their daughter and to avoid unpleasant occurrences decide on it at once of their own volition. But since such a separation is very disadvantageous for the wife's family and for the wife herself, the latter sometimes succeeds in taking away with her her best dresses and her jewels. If she is cited before the judges for this removal, she is obliged to return these objects to her husband, with the exception of a saddled horse and one of the most beautiful dresses which were part of her dowry.

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586 Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 91: Divorce properly speaking is not practised among the Manchus. The wife cannot leave her husband even in the case if he is drunkard, has some chronic illness or practises robbery. But at the same time the husband had the right to put away his wife after an official declaration to the public authorities. This declaration must be written and marked with twenty dactyloscopic prints of the complaint. This document is given to the divorced wife and a copy of it is kept in the office. This practice is of course of a very late origin. The woman is expelled from
[273] her husband's house in the case of bad conduct, if she is addicted to alcohol, has bad manners and habits and betrays her husband too shamelessly. In such cases the woman returns to her mother. If she is dead, the woman goes to her mother's brother or to her father's brother and never to her brothers. If the wife leaves her husband without permission, she cannot be received by her relatives of her mother's clan because she had other spirits, those of her husband's clan. However notwithstanding all these restrictions, it happens some times that women leave their husbands. If the divorce or too simply the running away of a wife is recognised as an accomplished fact, they never pay back the kalin

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> (earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional ... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

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/143 cont'd/ nothing.. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the elders did not admit it. (1)

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1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

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/144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

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Chapter V

Runaway Wives

578 593 It is not rare to see the daughter-in-law flee to the paternal home after a quarrel at the house of the parents-in-law. In this case, the latter /sic/ quietly await the arrival of the son-in-law in order to hear his explanations. If he does not bother with the fugitive, the parents of the runaway woman get a go-between so that he may go to make inquiries. Since usually both sides are at fault, the go-between will come back to bring back the daughter-in-law in order to make her apologize to her parents-in-law; the son-in-law will accompany her to present his apologies also to his wife's parents.

The exhortations to the daughter-in-law are very typical in the sense that they are rather platonic, even fatalistic: You are a daughter-in-law, they will say, therefore you have to suffer some vexations, even some humiliations; but know well that it is not for all your life; for the adage says, one is a daughter-in-law for only 30 years and then one is oneself the mother-in-law for the same term of years. Console yourself!

This running away within the family rarely leads to important consequences, but there is another kind of running away which is much more serious. Indeed, if repudiation rarely occurs and if divorce is not frequent, the flight of a wife with her lover happens oftener.

The causes of such misadventures are the great freedom of relations between the sexes before as well as after marriage, and especially at the time of festivities; the vexations of mothers-in-law, the /146/ unfortunate unions between young people of too different character, and above all the too great difference in age which often exists between husband and wife. The husband is not nubile and the wife is six or seven years older than he; the wife has begun by treating her husband as a child and has enjoyed authority. Later when the husband wants to take up his rights, then it is that the difficulties begin. Furthermore, the wife meanwhile has already learned to

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578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

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586 681 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time...; furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 583 681 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly, they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 593 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

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586 children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law
593 home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 548 Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma [548] 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo 589 793 Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect, and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body. They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception Mo [302] practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

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Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

005 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

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000 and her children. (3) Importance of the mother, daughter-in-law, children, maternal clan. (4) The practice of husband-sons-in-law.

A. Present-day Patriarchal State
System of the Large Family

121 In order to be able to understand a large part of the marriage rites and customs which we have described in this study, one must necessarily admit the hypothesis of a former matriarchate among the T'ou-jen.

596 Indeed, a large part of the marriage customs is unexplainable in the strictly patriarchal organization in which the T'ou-jen live today. Their family organization is that of the "large family." The grandfather is head of the family. His sons and grandsons after marriage continue to live under his authority, in the same courtyard, as long as life together is more or less possible. The grandfather has the community property at his disposal; he makes the sales, the purchases, the borrowings, etc. All that which is acquired by the sons or the grandsons goes back into the collective patrimony, and none of them is an owner with personal title. The grandfather has at his disposal not only the property but even the persons who constitute the family in the sense that he assigns to each one of them his daily /150/ occupations and his mode of life. The children belong neither to the mother nor the father but to the grandfather alone who will make of them monks, farmers, merchants, men of letters, as seems fitting to him. The grandfather alone is responsible before the T'ou-jen headmen for the conduct of all the members of the family. Succession in the family is regularly from father to son; at the death of the head of the family, the sons alone inherit the community property to the exclusion of the daughters. Conclusion: In such a patriarchal system the women and the maternal clan do not count at all.

121 But it has been said with much logic: "Scientific hypotheses are not true, they are convenient." Let us try, then, in order to be

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121 able to leave hypothesis and move on the ground of truth, to prove by the vestiges met with in the daily customs the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen in a former period.

121 177 The thesis is all the more interesting because it concerns former nomads formerly occupied with the raising of large animals, nomads of Mongol and Cha-t'ouo origin, speaking today the Monguor language, a Mongol dialect.

The matriarchal institution in the Mongol branch of the T'ou-jen must be anterior by a good deal to their immigration to Kansu, which dates from the time of either the Yüan or the Ming dynasty; for, in those times, the Mongols practiced the patriarchate. As for the social institutions of the Cha-t'ouo branch at the time of its settlement in Kansu, we have no certain data.

121 To prove the thesis I shall make use of materials which will be found explained more at length in other subsequent studies, as well as those met in the present monograph.

/151/ B. Ancient Matriarchate

1. Double Burial

764 In comparative ethnology double burial is considered as a specific element of the matriarchate. (1) Now the T'ou-jen groups

177 which have undergone the influence of Chinese civilization for so many centuries still practice this custom nowadays in the following

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1. Anthropos, 1930, p. 992. "Die Frage des Mutterrechts," by W. Koppers: In the light of comparative ethnology, the double funeral appears to be a peculiarity of pronounced mother-right culture. /Cited in German./

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764 form: After incinerating their dead according to Lamaist rites, they gather the remains in a chest ad hoc, and bury them provisionally in a clean, dry place on the slope of a mountain. At the ts'in-ming /ch'ing ming/, the festival of the dead among the Chinese, they disinter the chest to bury it for good in the common cemetery of the clan. This custom is followed even by the T'ou-jen who live beside the cemetery. This practice which the T'ou-jen claim to have been general in the old times nowadays is already no longer seen nowadays in many places.

2. Relations of the Maternal Uncle with the Family of his Sister and her Children

604 Another basic element of the matriarchate is the particular situation which the maternal uncle occupies in this organization where all the rights of the family seem to belong to him.

a) Right of life and death over his sister's children.

[761] Now, even today, among the T'ou-jen the maternal uncle has kept the most important rights over his sister's children; he has even kept the right of life and death over them. Elsewhere I shall describe three true-to-life happenings where one sees the maternal uncle preside over a family council in which, without any subsequent form of trial and without the intervention of the law or the courts, he decides that /152/ his sister's son will be buried alive. Now without the consent of the maternal uncle nobody would dare to make such a decree; no member of the family would dare take upon himself such a responsibility, not even the grandfather, although we are in the patriarchal period. These facts are all the more strange since capital punishment is not even within the jurisdiction of the head t'ou-se.

In its place I shall quote with all the circumstances the case of two brothers who in the lifetime of their widowed mother indirectly caused the suicide of their brother, a rogue of the worst kind, whom they had shut up in a room after beating him; the scamp hung himself. Now, for causing their brother's death, they had to pay an indemnity to their maternal uncle, the master of the bones of his

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604 sister's children. Note that even if the father had been living, the procedure would have been the same.

[762] The maternal uncle plays the principal role in the parleys on the occasion of the suicide of his sister's children. Third series of facts: A young woman, an unbearable scold, had abandoned her poor husband to follow a lover in easier circumstances. After two or three years, since she no longer got along with him either, the woman came back to her family, who wanted to return her to her legitimate husband. Fearing that at the least quarrel she might swallow opium and ruin his family, he required the maternal uncle of the shrew to constitute himself guarantor that there would not be any action on the part of his family in case the woman committed suicide. There was a family council, and the maternal uncle signed a contract in the sense indicated after making strongly virulent admonitions to his niece. The maternal uncle had to make the pledge, and not her own father. I met an absolutely similar case among the Chinese of Kansu.

These three series of facts prove the maternal uncle's rights of life and death over his sister's children. They are all of relatively recent date. In none of these cases was the maternal uncle charged at law. This is therefore proof that present-day custom still accepts these rights.

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171 /153/ In China also, moreover, the rights of the maternal uncle are very extensive even today; the Chinese proverb says enough about it, "kieou-fou kao wai-cheng, iang lao tse k'eng pou hia," i.e., "when the maternal uncle makes a charge at law against one of his sister's children, the children's own father can do nothing to defend them." (1) The maternal uncle has the right to punish his

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 144: If the mother should accuse her son, intervention to stop the execution in this case can be made by the mother's brother, who can take the guilty man under his charge. . . . In the intervention

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of the mother's brother, we can see some survival of an ancient form of the Manchu society which was organised on the principle of materline filiation, in which the mother's clan was a natural protector of its members. It is clear that the part of protector was executed by the mother's brother. Even now the mother's brother ... is generally charged with the moral control over his sister's children (as among the Chinese). Therefore he sometimes is obliged to help his sister's children. He is in very peculiar terms with them ... is much beloved by them ... he helps them in matrimonial affairs, he may also intervene in the education of them ... P. 154: The clan organisation in its institutions, as for example, the woman chieftainship, the peculiar rights and duties of the mother's brother, the mother's privilege to prevent her daughter although she is already married, and several others, retains traces of a great influence of the women and their relatives, which show that the Manchus in former times had another system of social organisation. - /Cited in English./

P. 91: During the life of a married couple, the wife's mother's clan has no important part, except in the case of divorce, but relations and high consideration of this clan are always strictly maintained. /Cited in English./

nephews in China.

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604 These facts make understandable the expression so often met in this study, "tnat the maternal uncle is really the master of the bones of his sister's children."

604 b) Permission to bury the dead is given by the maternal uncle.

764 After what we have just said, is it not natural that the T'ou-jen call the maternal uncle at the death of his sister and her children? Burial will never take place as long as he has not given his permission. In the case of rumors about the unnatural death of a person under his jurisdiction, he will examine the body. It is to recognize his rights that the family will call him each time that a burial takes place to inspect the body, and they will humbly beg him to give permission /154/ for burial or cremation. When they bury in the Chinese manner, they present to the maternal uncle the axe and the wedge for closing the cover of the coffin. This is what the Chinese do also.

604 c) Precedence of the maternal uncle at the wedding.

585 In the light of these facts, is it not easy to understand the importance that the T'ou-jen attach, at the time of marriage, to the mother's clan and to the maternal uncle in particular? He presides then at the festivity at his sister's home. They offer him the great gift of honor. He is invited to remain standing beside the bride during the speech of the master of ceremonies, who names him at this moment the master of the bones of his sister's children. At the home of the son-in-law it is he again who is the great guest and who receives the gift of honor. If there are neither grandfather or old men, it is he who conducts the wedding ceremony, who orders the prostrations, and says the blessings. At the time of the carrying off of the animals and of the uproar at the end of the wedding festivity, it is he again who settles the quarrel in the name of his sister's family, and it is before him that the son-in-law's whole family prostrate themselves. At the dinner at the bridegroom's home, the master of ceremonies emphasizes the importance of the maternal clan: "The man as well as the woman must have a maternal clan so that they can prove their origin." They scarcely speak of the paternal clan. Addressing himself to him a second time, the master of ceremonies says: "The man is indebted to the maternal clan for his qualities, as the woman is to her family's clan." Not the least allusion to the paternal clan.

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3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Chilu, the Maternal Clan

593 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.

562 In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?

593 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business
562 of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises
587 made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 When one examines present-day customs concerning young
587 widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the
593 young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

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606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
588 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.

593 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows
574 the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the custom that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say "the husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

Mo 527 844 e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. Mo [171] This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo 585 562 f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
[171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

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[592] 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

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606 In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

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60 All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways...., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

/159 cont'd/

Mo 60 This evolution is most curious. It moves at an uneven rate in different clans; one would even say that it goes only in jumps. The most commonplace circumstances very often can give to the movement an impulse as vigorous as the most tragic events, and that in all senses also. I quote at random: an honorific title given by China to a powerful tribal chieftain; kin relationships of a notable T'ou-jen with an influential Chinese family; marriages with Chinese; quarrels among village heads; the senseless verdict of a Chinese mandarin who understands nothing about T'ou-jen social organization; regularly repeated trips into regions with different customs; conversion to another religion; catastrophes like those of the Mohammedan revolutions, /160/ which, be decimating the people, were the cause of the adoption into certain clans of Tibetan and Chinese groups nearly as numerous as the T'ou-jen group, etc. One would say that there is very little that is constant, regular, foreseen in this whole movement, ... in this evolution.

Mo 114 This chapter on the matriarchate hence was necessary to make understood a great part of the rites and customs we have met in this study; I hope that it has helped to throw the true light, in the light of which one must see the picture which this study is, on marriage among the T'ou-jen.

/161/ Supplementary Notes

Notes on the Tungus

117 The printing of the present study was drawing to a close when I was able to procure the work, made by a master's hand, of Mr. Shirokogoroff, Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus, Commercial Press, 1929. The following notes, taken from this work, will complete our study.

T 91 We distinguish among the Tungus a northern and a southern group. The northern group includes the peoples who speak or have spoken the dialects which all take their origin from a mother language,

/161 cont'd/

T 101 Evenki. The southern group includes the Manchu, the Goldi, the Olca, etc. The difference between the dialects of the two groups is not so clear as that which is met in the great subdivisions of the Indo-European languages. S. O. T., p. 51.

T 177 167 Now one finds among the Tungus all possible degrees of "Mongolization," with respect to language and customs, from the slightest to the most complete, especially in the northern group. This fact explains why distinguished linguists have gone as far as to deny even the existence of the Tungus as an independent unit. S. O. T., p. 87.

"Along with the penetration of the Mongol culture into the body of the northern Tungus complex, the intercourse between the Mongols and the Tungus grew so that they intermixed and crossed. Naturally the anthropological elements characteristic of Mongol ethnical groups... have also penetrated these northern groups to such an extent that some former northern groups have become entirely modified in their original physical features....By this method, a complete "Mongolization" of the Tungus has been and is still in operation...." S. O. T., p. 87. /Cited in English./

T 60 177 The Tungus formerly had a matriarchal organization which they exchanged for a patriarchal organization. With the new customs they borrowed, for what pertains to marriage, new terms to designate them; now it is a certain fact that all these terms are of Turco-Mongol origin. S. O. T., p. 242.

In the course of our work we have given notes relative to the southern group of the Tungus (Manchu group); here we give those relative to the northern group, more Mongolized than the southern group. Thus our documentation will embrace the two groups.

Mo T 582 As for the first paragraph, "Parties to the Marriage," p. 12, we /162/ establish among the northern Tungus as among the T'ou-jen the law of exogamy:

Op. cit., 210.. "among the Tungus marriage within the clan is considered as incest and is prohibited, i.e. a man may marry no woman born in his clan. Exogamy is the backbone of the Tungus social organisation....Exogamy is one of the oldest institutions among the Tungus." One even meets endogamy, and, on page 336, this law is explained by migrations in distant places and the absence of

Mo T 582 /162 cont'd/
peoples of the same race, "among some groups this practice has been established as a custom." /Quotations cited in English./

T 583 P. 14. Exchange of girls; op. cit., 220: "Marriage by exchange is still the ... most favoured form of getting wife." /Cited in English./

P. 15. Marriages, Tao-ts'in marriages between cousins, etc., op. cit., 213:

"Among all groups, marriage between cross-cousins is considered as a preferential mating....Marriage with the father's sister's children is allowed, as is observed among the Manchus." Op. cit., 214: "The mode of marrying most preferred is that when a brother and sister are exchanged against a brother and sister." /Cited in English./

P. 17. Practice of exchange of women between two clans. Op. cit., 212: "Among the Tungus it is of very common occurrence that two clans are bound by a systematic exchange of women, so that the mother's clan provides the women." /Cited in English./

T 584 P. 20. The social position of the future husband and wife with respect to marriage is the same as among the T'ou-jen. Op. cit., 223: "Among the khingan Tungus, the girl is not consulted in principle. She can thus be married against her will /cited in English/."

T 614 584 Op. cit., 224: "Match-making and marriages are not private and personal affairs but a clan affair, and the Kalym constitutes an essential element of marriage....The girl may be present (at the match-making) but custom requires that she must not show that the discussion concerns her. In the presence of the match-makers nobody consults her at all." /Cited in English./

T 582 P. 21. Children given in marriage before birth. Op. cit., 219: "... most of them are sometimes betrothed from early childhood and even before birth, as among the Manchus, and as commonly practised among the Chinese /cited in English/." As far as the Chinese are concerned, I believe the statement is too general.

P. 21. Respective ages of the bride and groom. Op. cit., 219: "Generally speaking the Tungus prefer an equal age in husband and wife. However under the stress of economical needs the Tungus sometimes marry a woman to a young boy in order to get a working woman /cited in English/."

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P. 21. The marriage proposal. Op. cit., 223: "There are 584 /163/ three instances of match-making: 1) when the children are so small that they are not consulted and the question is settled by the relatives of the young boy and girl; 2) when the girl and the young man of adult age are consulted, and the question is settled by their relatives in the same way as in case 1; 3) when the girl and young man are in love and the initiative of the match-making is taken by them; the formal side is again settled by their relatives. Match-making preceded by capture may be related to case 3 /cited in English/."

When is it made? Op. cit., 227: "Match-making may be arranged at any age of the interested persons...." Op. cit., 235: "...takes place soon after birth of the interested persons or later...." Op. cit., 220: "...match-making and marriage are sometimes postponed till the adult age of the young man is reached." /Cited in English./

By whom is it made, and how? Op. cit., 224: "The choice of the match-makers is limited by no regulations, except that referring to persons belonging to the family.... First, the visitors start a neutral conversation... then they take from their clothing a bottle of wine [273] and pray the host to take it... without wine no match-making discussion is possible." Op. cit., 227: "If the bride's relatives do not want to give her away, custom requires that he (or she) must bargain as long as possible; the arrangement about the Kalym takes over five years.... disputes at match-making are exceptionally rare." /Cited in English./

P. 25. Consent of the mother. Op. cit., 224: "Formal con- 562 584 sent of the mother is obligatory among the Khingan Tungus." Op. cit., 271: "The woman takes a very active part in the discussions concerning match-making, marriages and other social functions of the family members. Her opposition to her husband's opinion, if reasonable, defines the final issue of the discussion. She may also veto a decision taken without her consent." /Cited in English./

P. 26. The go-between. Op. cit., 239: "The essential event 584 in match-making is the Kalym arrangement which as a rule is paid in two parts among Tungus, Manchus, Goldi, or by instalments as it is sometimes allowed among the Buriats. Contents and value of the

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584 Kalym depend upon the economic condition of the groups." Op. cit., 225: "The matter of discussion is the Kalym ... it does not mean the price of the bride.... The usual Kalym consists of domesticated animals, ... reindeer, horses, pigs, cows, sheep. As a rule, a part of the Kalym among all Tungus is always paid at the match-making." Op. cit., 227: "Generally speaking the Tungus like to show that the match-making and the wedding are acts of a business character and above all of great profit." /Cited in English./

761 P. 30. Decease of one of the engaged people before marriage.
584 Op. cit., 227: "If the betrothed girl or boy dies before the wedding, another girl or boy of the same clan are given instead of the deceased /cited in English/."

585 P. 31. Payment of the earnest. Op. cit., 235: "Kalym and supplementary /164/ Kalym must be transmitted." Op. cit., 239: "Kalym transmission constitutes the most important part of the wedding... may be included in the ceremony performed on the same day that the woman goes to the man's clan, as may be seen among the reindeer Tungus, or it may constitute a separate ceremony as among the nomad Tungus, Manchus, Goldi." Op. cit., 227: "As soon as the matter of Kalym is settled the match-makers prepare a feast ... the first place belongs to the person with whom the matter has been settled. The father considers it his duty to return the feast to the match-makers. These feasts sometimes take two or three days and all clansmen of the bride and the bridegroom take their part in the pleasure." /Cited in English./

582 P. 34. Age required for marriage. Op. cit., 227: "Marriage is usually postponed till the fifteenth year or more; or to a definite or indefinite date...." Op. cit., 218: "Girl is sometimes married at an age when she cannot become an actual wife.... But among the reindeer Tungus of Manchuria ... marriage takes place at age of eighteen years. The age of thirty as the max. limit has been indicated to me by some groups ... in exceptional cases, it reaches the age of forty .... Among other groups...not before the age of fifteen and usually between the age of eighteen and twenty.... When the marriage is postponed after
[584] the age of the bride's maturity, the betrothed husband...is allowed intercourse with his betrothed." /Cited in English./

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585 P. 35. Setting the day of the wedding. Op. cit., p. 230: "Tungus do not distinguish any happy or unhappy days, as the Manchus do /cited in English/."

P. 36. Date of the wedding. "As a rule weddings are carried out at seasons when the Tungus do not hunt /cited in English/."

583 P. 46. The girl's dowry. Op. cit., 228: "No discussion as to the dowry is allowed. The honour of the clan requires the dowry to be as rich as possible. As a general rule it is considered as the private property of the woman, which she may dispose of almost without any control. It follows her, if she leaves the husband's clan, unless she [231] commits certain crimes, and her daughters inherit it.... Among all groups the dowry consists of two parts: reindeer, horses, cattle... and personal clothing of the bride, clothing for the bridegroom and his clansmen, some cash, implements, kettles...." /Cited in English./

585 P. 63. Getting the bride. Op. cit., 240: "Delivery of the bride is always by her clan people, and among the Manchus she is accompanied to the bridegroom's clan by the bridegroom.... This constitutes the formal act of the fulfillment of the match-making agreement, and it is found among all groups. The bride's father and mother do not follow their daughter to the bridegroom's clan.... Among the Goldi the mother together with her daughter goes to the bridegroom's house." /Cited in English./

P. 64. Arrival of the bride in her new family. Op. cit., 240: /165/ "The act of entering the bridegroom's clan... is essential part of the wedding ceremony, for when the woman joins her husband's clan, this is expressed among all groups either by a sacrifice sometimes given by the bride, as it is observed among the Tungus (except the nomad Tungus) and the Buriats and sometimes given by other persons, as is observed among the Goldi, nomad Tungus, or a ritual complex including visit to the ancestral tombs, as is recorded for the Manchus." /Cited in English./

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563 P. 71. The wedding. I summarize the wedding ceremonies, (A) among the Tungus of Transbaikalia and (b) among the nomad Tungus.

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585 A. "Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia." Op. cit., 230. The guests gather in a place designated in advance, in two groups, that of the bride and that of the bridegroom; they settle down in two groups of wigwams /sic/ prepared for the festivity. "Before the day of the wedding the bridegroom is allowed to visit the wigwam of his affianced wife's parents... and remains there with the bride for the night... facts and survivals seem to point to an old custom of the consummation of the marriage in the affianced wife's house, i.e. formerly in her mother's clan." The ceremony begins by the delivery of the earnest brought to the bride's camp... discussions... supplementary earnest. From the bride's camp her dowry and the gifts intended for the bridegroom and his family are solemnly transported. The bride- [292] groom then puts on these clothes. "At this time the bride's clan women dress the bride for her wedding. They put her best coats on, three or four at once...." After a sham abduction during which a man is taken from her clan, the bride arrives in the groom's clan, and after circling the wigwam three times, she enters it... during the light meal she makes an offering to the spirits of her husband's clan. The wedding itself: the married couple bow to the assemblage, who kiss the bride's hand and mouth; the go-betweens spit three times on her hand. Meanwhile a shaman or someone else chants and... "expresses various wishes as to the happiness of the new couple." Dinner, guests seated in a circle, men on one side and women on the other... speeches... "the social importance of the fact of marriage is always accentuated by the speakers"... after the dinner, dances all night and festivities for three days.... Page 235: "wedding feast is held in the bridegroom's and in the bride's clan." /Sections withing quotation marks cited in English./

B. Marriage among the nomad Tungus. Page 236: "The day before the wedding the bridegroom puts a felt tent inside the camp [352] enclosure of his father....In the middle of the tent a fire is made as usual... around the fire, skins and felt rugs are placed.... From early morning the bridegroom's clansmen sit in a tent specially prepared.... The bridegroom is not to be seen... and does not take any part in the ceremony, but is busy with other things, cooking and serving. Variations; the bride is met outside the tent enclosure by the

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563 bridegroom's people, or the bride goes straight to her relatives' house
585 or tent.... A little time before the bride's arrival, two men belonging to the bride's ulus arrive on a cart with the dowry, /166/ her own and the man's clothing.... They are met with the bridegroom's people in the front of the gate" ... they are questioned, it is claimed that they have mistaken the address... they are led with the dowry into the tent intended for the bride... dispute about the bride's cushions. "The bride with her face covered by red silk material, with two others of her ulus women and two men all go on horse-back out the village." A group of horsemen and horsewomen follows her... they take tea along the way... the bride refuses it... furious race of the horsemen and horsewomen followed by the bride, straight toward the place of the festivity prepared outside the enclosure of the tents. A big fire burns there... the bride is near the fire... the riders ride around the fire at a gallop, "fire ring" ... a tea is served... the bride taken into the bridegroom's tent is hidden behind a curtain of sheepskins... she is dressed, they fix her up in the style of married women. The bride with the guests goes into her father-in-law's tent... entrance is barred to her... discussions, gifts are given... they enter, they present gifts to the father-in-law, the bride makes a prostration to him as well as to the whole assemblage, offerings thrown on the fire.... The bridegroom arrives, receives a khatag and then leaves. The bride is taken back to her tent... dinner is served to her... Festivity and dinner outside the enclosure where the tents are. /Sections enclosed in quotation marks are cited in English./

Op. cit., 241: "Among all groups the ceremony of the wedding may be simplified if the persons getting married are poor, or if previous to the formal marriage they have violated customs, or if a widow or divorced person is one of the contracting parties. The simplifying of the ceremony does not however allow of the exclusion of the acts of importance: delivery of the bride and her adoption as symbolised by a sacrifice." /Cited in English./

[831] P. 81. Op. cit., 208: "Among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia the virginity of the bride is not required... but the facts of the girl's relations are rather of clandestine character. If the

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563 girl gets pregnant, it does not reduce her value. Among the Udehe,
585 a girl's pregnancy may be used as a way of compelling her parents...
[831] to give her in marriage to theman responsible for her pregnancy. Among the reindeer Tungus of Manchuria a girl's pregnancy is considered a shameful thing, but the girl is always excused; for among these Tungus sexual intercourse after a certain age is considered as a natural phenomenon. Among the Khingan, Tungus girls are permitted to have free intercourse after the age of fifteen or sixteen. Intercourse is strictly prohibited among the Manchus." /Cited in English./

587 P. 87. Rights of widows. Op. cit., 266: "Juniors have cer-
589 tain rights as to her, i.e. according to the principle of levirate. She may be given to another man as wife in case of her husband's death and if she consents. If she remarries into another clan, her Kalym is naturally received by her late husband's clan; when she does not want to leave her late husband's clan, she may stay there for any length time. The woman does not inherit her husband, if she does not leave her husband's clan /167/ and has children, she takes up the direction of the property which is supposed to belong to the children." /Cited in English./

583 P. 96. Vestiges of abduction. Op. cit., 220: "Marriages by capture are also known. They occur if the parent's will cannot be changed. This practice according to the Tungus is an innovation mostly due to Russian influence.... Among the Barguzin and the Merchinks Tungus capture is considered a heinous crime.... I do not presume to say that capture was unknown among the Tungus. The close cultural relationship of the Tungus to the Palaeasiatics at a remote period, is beyond doubt. Among the Gilaks and the Koriaks capture is an essential of the wedding ceremony.... It was also known long ago among the Sien-pi. We do not yet know whether the Tun-hu were the Tungus, Mongols or Palaeasiatics, but there is no doubt that they were neighbors of the southern Tungus." /Cited in English./

587 P. 100. Polygamy exists. Op. cit., 212: "If the first wife
595 dies, the widower is allowed to marry her sister. In all cases of polygyny, I know that the Tungus used to speak of it with a certain repugnance and disdain and persons who were polygynous were not

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587 595 considered good people. The Manchu practice is similar to that of the Tungus...." Op. cit., 214: "the practice of levirate and scrorate is general. The Goldi extend the levirate to the father's wives, except the mother, so that the son inherits the wife of his father and makes her his wife. With good reason it may be supposed that this practice of the Goldi has been known among all Tungus." /Cited in English./

847 P. 105. Op. cit., 272: "Preventive methods, abortion and the killing of children when the mother is alive are unknown among the Tungus /cited in English/."

595 P. 108. Op. cit., 212: "Monogamy and polygyny. The first form is the commonest one, and the second is very rare ... as a matter of fact. Polygyny is not allowed except in case the first wife either has no children or has attained an age when she can have no more. Polygyny does not exceed one per cent of all the cases observed. Sometimes the practice does not allow one to marry two sisters." /Cited in English./

595 593 P. 109. Op. cit., 212: "The wives in all cases call one another sister (senior or junior) and the children of both mothers call them 'the mother.' " Op. cit., 266: "The woman does not call her husband by his personal name, but (says) my children's father. The husband does the same in reference to his wife." /Cited in English./

606 466 P. 116. Husband-sons-in-law. Op. cit., 239: "Marriage by service among some groups is a form of the Kalym payment used among all groups." Op. cit., 219: "If the bridegroom cannot pay the Kalym, then he arranges payment by his own work. The man works for his future wife's parents or relatives, and the marriage takes place when the fixed period expires. Among the Manchus, the Udehe, and especially among /168/ the Buriats and the Goldi, marriage by service is now rarely practised." Op. cit., 240: "Consummation of the marriage, in marriage by service, is subject to great variations ... not allowed among Manchus and Buriats, but not prohibited among the northern Tungus." /Cited in English./

586 P. 134. Divorce. Op. cit., 222: "Divorce is an exceptionally rare occurrence among the Tungus. There are three occasions, namely

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586 when the woman requires divorce, when the husband requires it, when both of them require it. The matter has to be settled in all three cases by a clan meeting or a meeting of the two joint clans. Among the Tungus and Manchus the act of divorce must be sealed by the fingerprints of the people of the husband's clan, the husband and the wife...." Op. cit., 209: "Very rarely misconduct results in divorce.
684 As a general rule among the Tungus groups, women's intercourse with foreigners is disapproved of and gives the husband certain rights to the support of his clan in claiming divorce. Some Tungus groups, e.g. the Goldi, the Udehe, even recognise the husband's right to kill the wife and her accomplice who are taken in flagrant delict. This practice was also known among the Muki, who lived in Manchuria in the sixth century after Christ...." Op. cit., 267: As for the support which the wife can anticipate on the part of her clan.... "The woman's clan never refuses her request of inquiry. The woman's clan may avenge her death... life for life." /Cited in English./

P. 136. Op. cit., 208: "On the violations of the (sex) customs persons are considered to be "a bad man or a bad woman" which means more than a simple disapproval of conduct, for if his conduct becomes a habit, the matter is to be set before a clan meeting with all the consequences that may result from it (including the death penalty).... Among the Manchus the custom requires the suicide of the criminal, e.g. the case of the father-in-law surprised by his son with the latter's wife...." Op. cit., 209: "Among all groups in exceptional cases, the husband openly opposes his wife's conduct, and if she continues her relations he tries to exhort her to change her ways... or even beats her...." Page 209: "The Tungus possess a special term meaning to sleep with a married woman "dorokto" which seems to be derived from "doro" to steal." /Cited in English./

548 P. --. Prostitution. Op. cit., 271: "The practice of prostitution has not been recorded by me among the Tungus groups investigated...." Page 272: "Cases of prostitution or sale of wives as recorded among the Udehe are unknown among the Tungus." /Cited in English./

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177 P. --. Matriarchate. Op. cit., 242: "Most of the (wedding) terms used by Tungus are borrowed from the Mongols and other ethnical groups, yet some practices are borrowed direct from the same sources. This is quite comprehensible for the matrineal system of the clan was probably used by the early Tungus and Manchus or perhaps even by the pro-Tungus. As a matter of fact the Kalym, the dowry, the journey of the bride and her adoption by the husband's clan are absolutely useless /169/ in the matrilineal clan system and the matrilocal marriage. It is thus natural that the terms concerning all these elements of the wedding have been borrowed together with the customs. The fact of the Turco-Mongol origin of most of the terms of relationship adopted by the Tungus when they had already adopted the patrineal clan system is beyond doubt...." Page 243: "The maximum result of analysis may be that at certain periods, the matrilineal system was a widely distributed ethnographical feature, characteristic of different groups, just as nowadays the patrineal system is that adopted by almost all groups of Asia." /Cited in English./

/170/ Notes on the Lo-lo P'o

L 113 These notes are taken from Au Yun-nan. Les Lo-lo P'o /In Yunnan. The Lo-lo P'o/ by the Reverend Father Alfr. Lietard, Library of Ethnological Monographs, Anthropos (1913). The book in question reached me only when the printing of my study was nearly finished.

L 114 One is very surprised to ascertain that the T'ou-jen matrimonial customs present so much resemblance with those of the Lo-lo P'o, especially with respect to the general trend of the different phases of marriage. Unfortunately, the Father Lietard's work is not detailed enough to permit a deeper study of the subject. However, these notes as well as those which precede on the Miao suffice to recall the importance of the problem concerning the factor of the peoples of southwestern China, not only in the question of Chinese civilization but also in that of the ethnology of the Turco-Mongol group.

L 584 Op. cit., p. 155 and following: When the parents have cast their eyes on a girl whom they would like to have their son marry, the

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/170 cont'd/

L 584 father enters upon negotiations with the girl's father. If the latter's
response is favorable, a go-between is sought. He must be an individual who has many children. The go-between is invited to dinner, and
during the meal, at which meat and wine are served, he is asked to
go to such and such a family to ask for such and such a girl in marriage.
He goes there for the evening meal, with one or two pounds of meat
and two measures of wine. He makes the proposal, and the next day
L [273] he can bring back a favorable answer to the boy's family. They fete
him, which is called "drinking the wine of the promise." They wait
six months or a year and proceed to the second operation called "drinking the wine of the end of the negotiations." The go-between is
again invited to dinner. After the meal he goes to the girl's family,
taking along a goat, a pound of salt, and 20 measures of wine. There
L [262 231] the goat is killed, and they feast while discussing the conditions of
the marriage. After the banquet the go-between returns to announce
to the boy's father the conditions, which are nearly always 6 or 7 taels
L [301] of silver and flowered shoes or a turban. If the boy's family is rich,
more is demanded: silver bracelets, rings, and earrings and eardrops.
Two months before the wedding the go-between conducts the ceremony
of setting the wedding day. For that he comes first to the boy's home,
from where after a family-style meal he goes to the girl's home to set
the day of the wedding. He takes a piece of cloth, a liang of sewing
thread, two measures of wine. The day before the wedding a friend
L 585 of the family takes a 20-pound goat to the girl's home. The morning
of the big day the go-between, who has received two measures of
wine /171/ and two goat heads for his trouble, takes to the girl's home
6 or 7 ounces of silver, the shoes, etc. He is accompanied by the
boy, who upon arriving at the girl's home prostrates himself to his
parents-in-law, thanking them for giving their daughter to him. The
daughter herself stays in the kitchen; she must not see her fiancé.
L M [533] Then the family gives a big feast to the guests. The meal is served
in the courtyard under tents. They sing. The old people especially
distinguish themselves by their improvisations. (This sung Lo-lo dialogue can very well be compared with the T'ou-jen song of the toilette,
p. 59.) What have you put on your daughter's head? Your daughter

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2: Schram--189 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor
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/171 cont'd/

585 wears a turban of gauze. And what have they put on her ears? ...
and her body, what have you clothed it with? ..., etc. But to whom
shall the girl be handed over? Hand her over to the spirit of the
hearth. When she has made three prostrations to it, she will be
handed over to her father-in-law, she will be handed over to her
mother-in-law. When they have sung enough, the boy goes home
accompanied by one of his relatives /parents/. The go-between bows
to the father and mother of the girl, inviting them to come to the
wedding at the boy's home. The father, the mother, and all the
free members of the family indeed go in response to the invitation,
[574 each one carrying his bedding for the night. The elder sister, or if
[513] there is none, an older female relative, takes the young bride on her
482] back, and everybody sets out led by the go-between. Before arriving
at the boy's house, they stop on the road. The go-between goes
there alone to announce the arrival of the bride and her relatives and
asks for some men of good will to come to carry the guests' bedding.
He comes back with the men. He lights a torch while his wife
[276] distributes tobacco, and they smoke a pipeful. The procession sets out
on the way after they have blindfolded the girl's eyes. The woman
who carries her is given 16, 36, or 66 cash. If the girl is big she is
not carried on the back except from that moment on. The elder
sister thus carries the bride to the middle of the courtyard. There she
puts her down and then leads her in front of the kitchen door, where
she removes her blindfold. They both enter the kitchen and prostrate
themselves before the image of the spirit of the hearth. They stay in
the kitchen where other companions come to join her. It is there
that they will be served something to eat at the time of the meal.
During this time the go-between presents the girl's parents to the boy's
parents. And when the feast is ready, they sit down at the table.

After the meal they sing and especially they dance. The girl comes out and dances like everybody else, as well as the boy. The girl stays at her husband's home two or four days, her elder sister keeping her company. After this lapse of time the young couple in the company of the same elder sister go to spend several days with the parents of the girl. After three or four days the young couple come back to the boy's home.

/171 cont'd/

L 592 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/

Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Mo [01] 121 Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

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M 121 It was in order to make the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual better understood that we have had recourse to the notes concerning the Mongols (1), concerning the northern and southern Tungus among

HM 144 113 1. The Mongol problem is very complex. Indeed, as Mr. Shirokogoroff says ("New Contribution to the Problem of the Origin of the Chinese Culture," Anthropos, 1931, p. 221): "Yet we have a very confused idea as to the early Mongols, especially their ancestors and their relationship with the Palaeasiatic groups. In fact amongst the Mongols, one may observe different anthropological types and especially type A, and a very numerous type B, the latter of which forms the great majority among the Palaeasiatics. There are many other reasons which incline me to the idea that the Palaeasiatic factor must not be omitted from one's sight when the origin and formation of the Mongols and the Mongol complex are considered." /Cited in English./ This is why we have taken advantage of the judicious, comprehensive study of Dr. Herb. Koenig, Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker, in the course of this work.

Deniker (Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the Earth/, 1926, p. 460) recognizes three great divisions among the Mongols: A) that of the western Mongols, or Kalmouk, B) that of the eastern Mongols, C) that of the Buriats.

A. Mostaert, "The Mongols of Kansu and their Language," Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking (Dec. 1931),

/173 cont'd/

AM 113 pp. 1, 2, 3, gives by his bibliography an idea of the present state of the Mongol philological problem.

M 121 whom all degrees of Mongolization are found, /174/ and then to those concerning the Miao and the Lo-lo P'o.

M 585 When one studies the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual all alone without taking into account the rituals of the other groups, it is an eminently solemn rite which immediately impresses one and which shows itself to be the high moment of the whole wedding. It is indeed the moment when the bride and groom, kneeling one beside the other in the presence of the whole assemblage, standing and silent, of the guests of the two families, give together the three great ritual prostrations "to heaven and to the multifarious spirits," then to the parents and to all the assemblage, while "the old man who blesses" pronounces the good wishes, which say clearly what is meant by the union of the two persons on whom every eye is fixed. When the good wishes are pronounced and the prostrations made, the bride's veil is removed and she is taken to the nuptial chamber as if to signify the end of the great act. If there is a solemn moment in the T'ou-jen wedding, it is certainly this one.

Now we find this rite in all T'ou-jen weddings: in the marriage without ceremony of poor girls, in that of widows without support, and even in the abnormal marriages to the prayer poles and the belt. When all the other rites are missing, the prostration to heaven or to the spirits made by the bride and groom is never omitted. This leads one to believe that in the eyes of the T'ou-jen this rite is by far the most important.

M 585 171 Now, shall we find a similar rite in the other groups? Among the Mongols one meets a scene nearly identical to the one seen among the T'ou-jen; but one is very surprised not to see the groom take part in it beside the kneeling bride. Indeed, the bride alone is brought into the father-in-law's home where the parents and friends of the future wife are gathered; ritual prayers are read; three prostrations are given by the bride to the fire, to the father and mother, to the bride's parents; all give her their blessings aloud. /175/ (Cf. page 81)

/175 cont'd/

585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

/176 cont'd/

585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?

171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read ... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
114 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

/177 cont'd/

585 the payment of the purchase price, and to the delivery of the "merchandise" by her owners; in addition one has the admission of the girl into the bridegroom's clan and the sacrifice made by her to the god of the hearth of her new family: the whole followed by a dinner and entertainment.

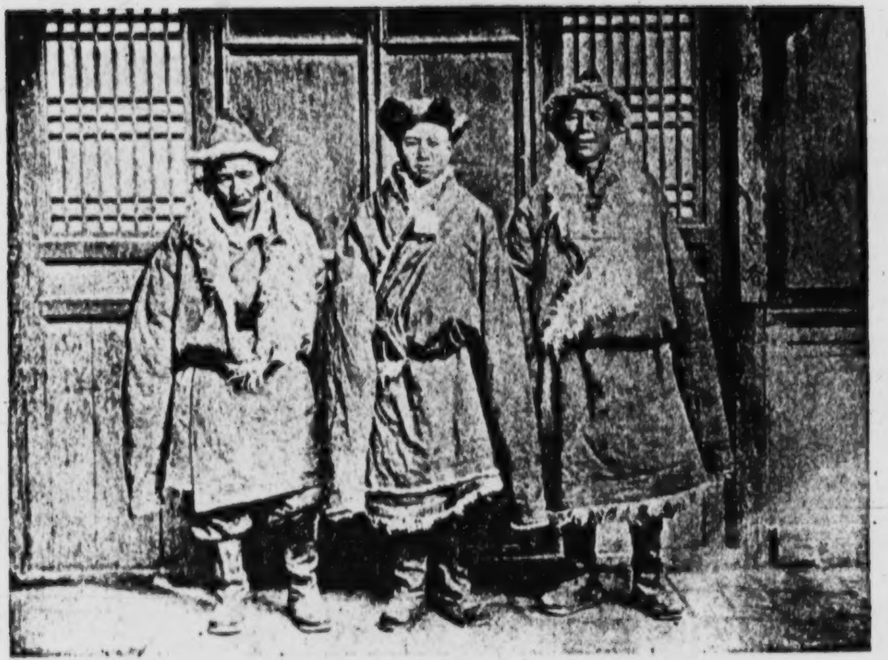
But finally, why spend money for a girl? Why admit a new member into the family? Why is marriage among these peoples the great work of life? They know well why, these peoples! I suppose that they say so like the T'ou-jen in the ritual prayers, in the blessings: that they say it to those from whom they await its realization, and that exactly at the moment when the bride makes the prostrations. This is why I consider this ceremony as the chief ceremony in marriage among these peoples.

105 The few rare materials which this study presents to us prove amply that the civilization of the T'ou-jen is far from being homogenous, and that we find ourselves here in the presence of cultural elements belonging to different types of culture.

/178/ After studying the history of this people in Kansu, its environment, its neighbors, its social, political, and religious life, we shall be better able to understand the complexity of its civilization and the origin of the cultural elements we find in it.

The T'ou-jen, separated radically for hundreds of years from other groups of their race, confined in a lost corner of Kansu, surrounded by peoples having a culture of a type different from theirs, and having themselves changed their kind of life since their arrival in the new habitat, present a very complex problem to us, whose data must be well known before it can be solved.

114 So we reserve our conclusions for later, trying above all to furnish as faithfully, as completely, as possible all the ethnologic and historic materials.



Three Mongols of Koko Nor (Sining).
The young man in the center is a Beile, tribal chief. He wears on his chest a Buddhist reliquary.

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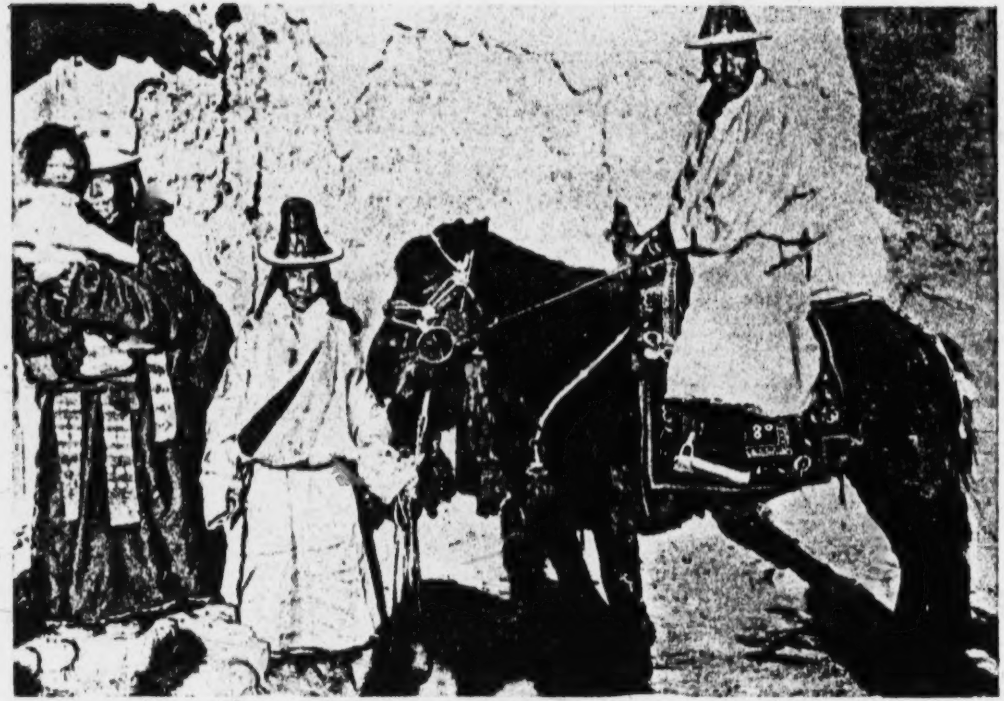

Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.

The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

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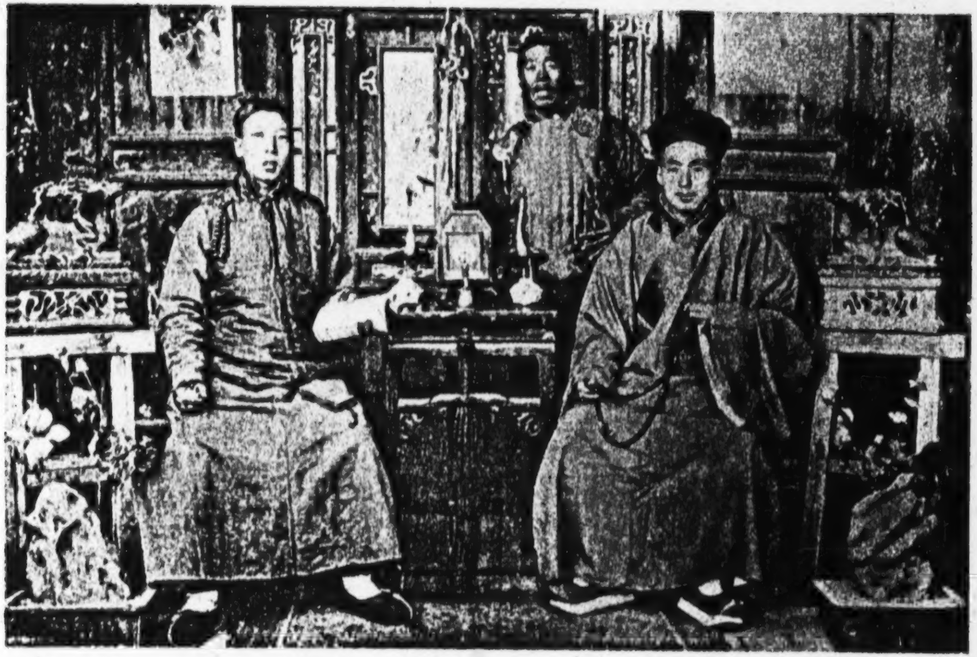

An Ing-iang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

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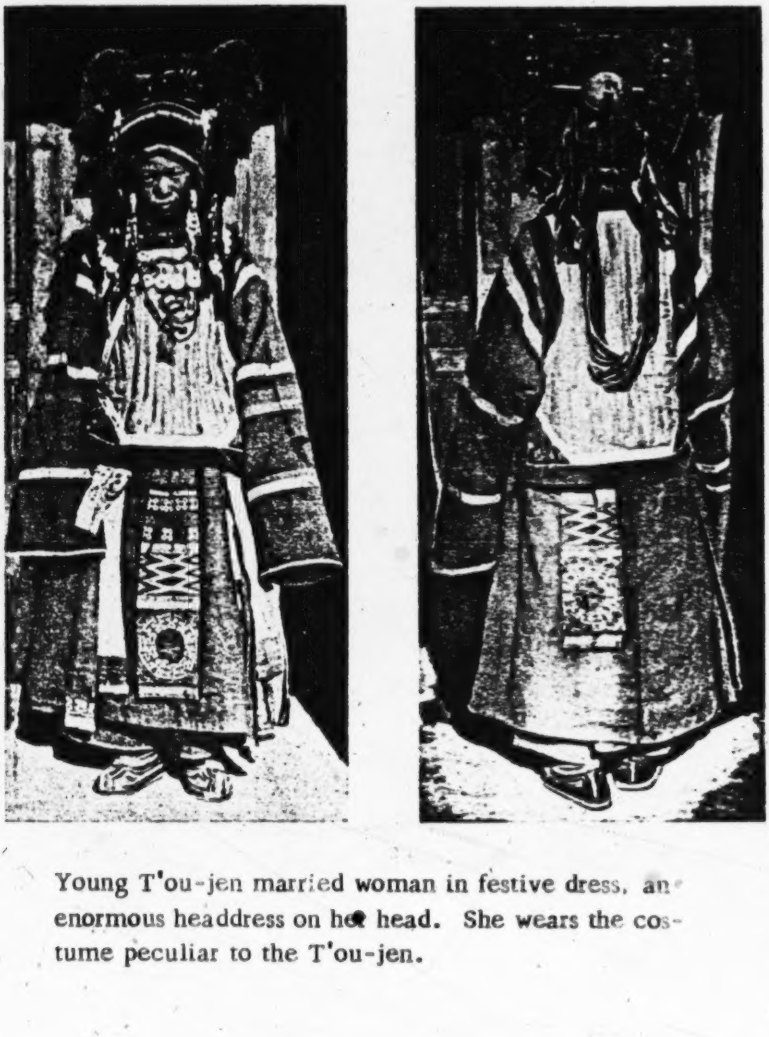

Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

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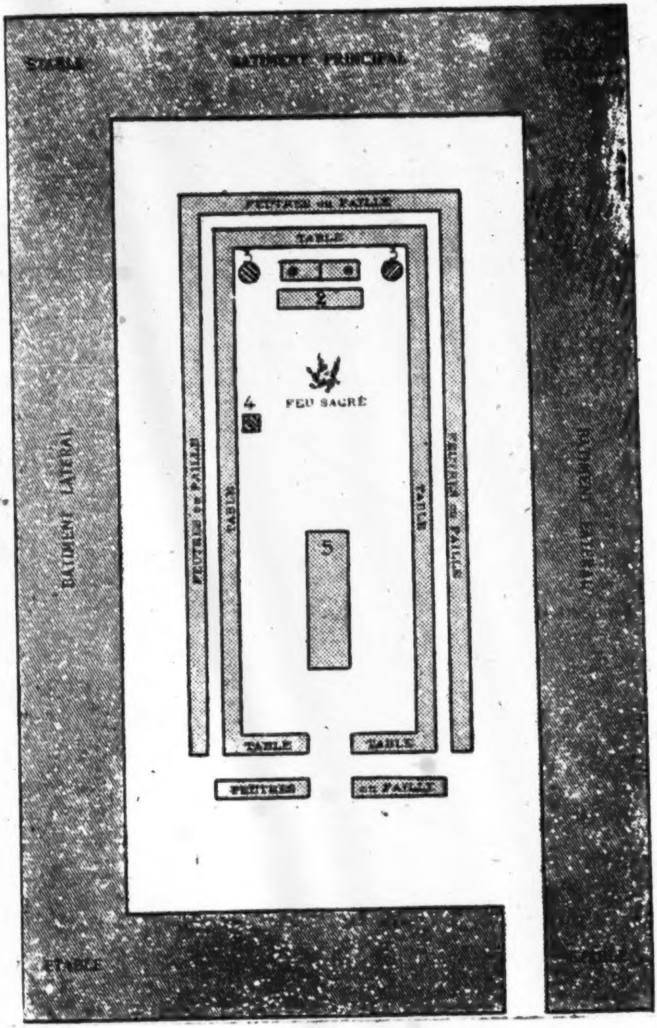
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Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard.

1. Table with the two lamps.
2. Red felt.
3. Place of the cupbearer.
4. Seat of the master of ceremonies.
5. Table where the gifts are spread out.

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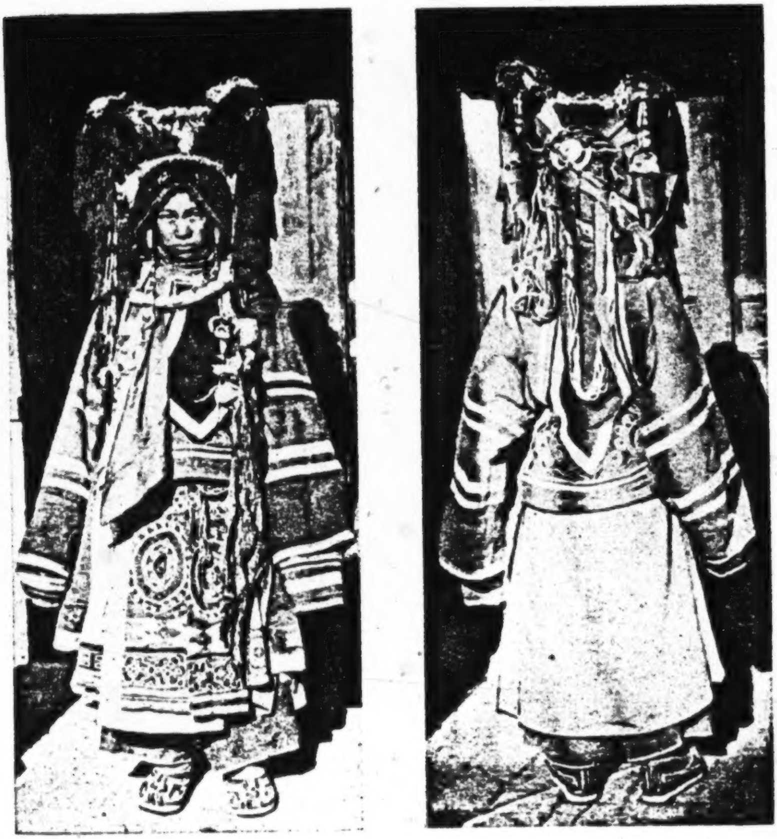

Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

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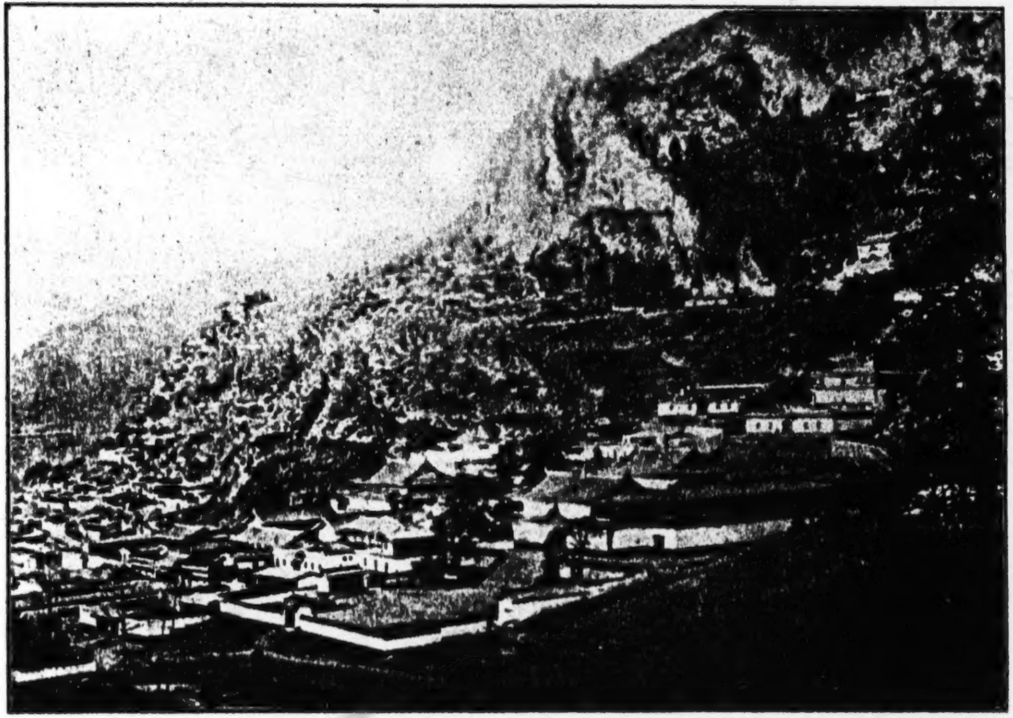

Lamasery of the yellow lamas of Eul-kou-long (northern Sining). With few exceptions, all the lamas are T'ou-jen.

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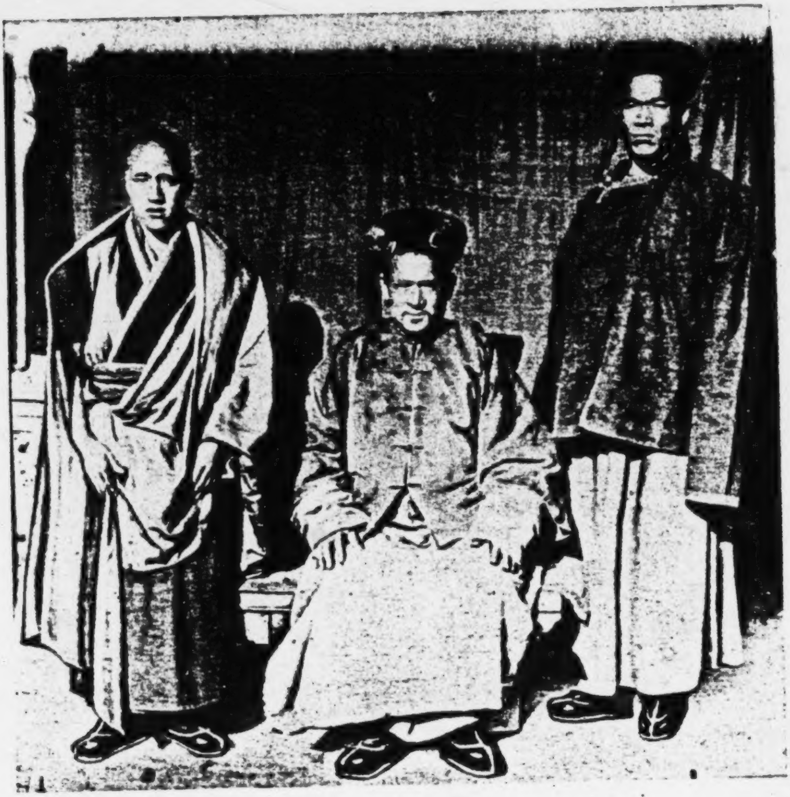
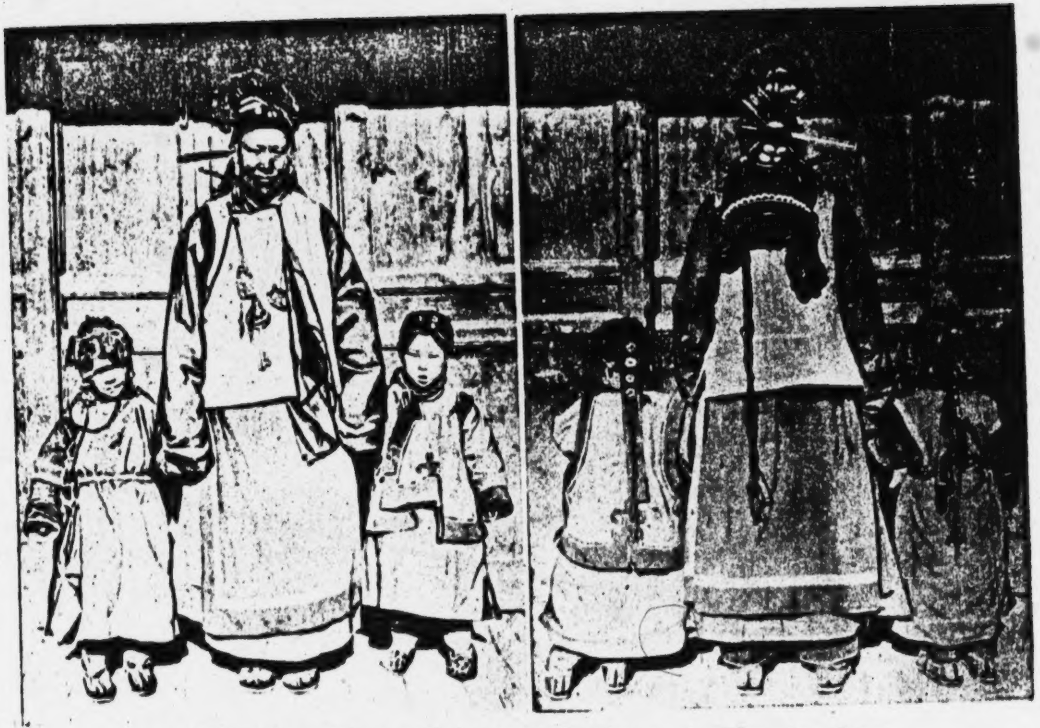


Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.



T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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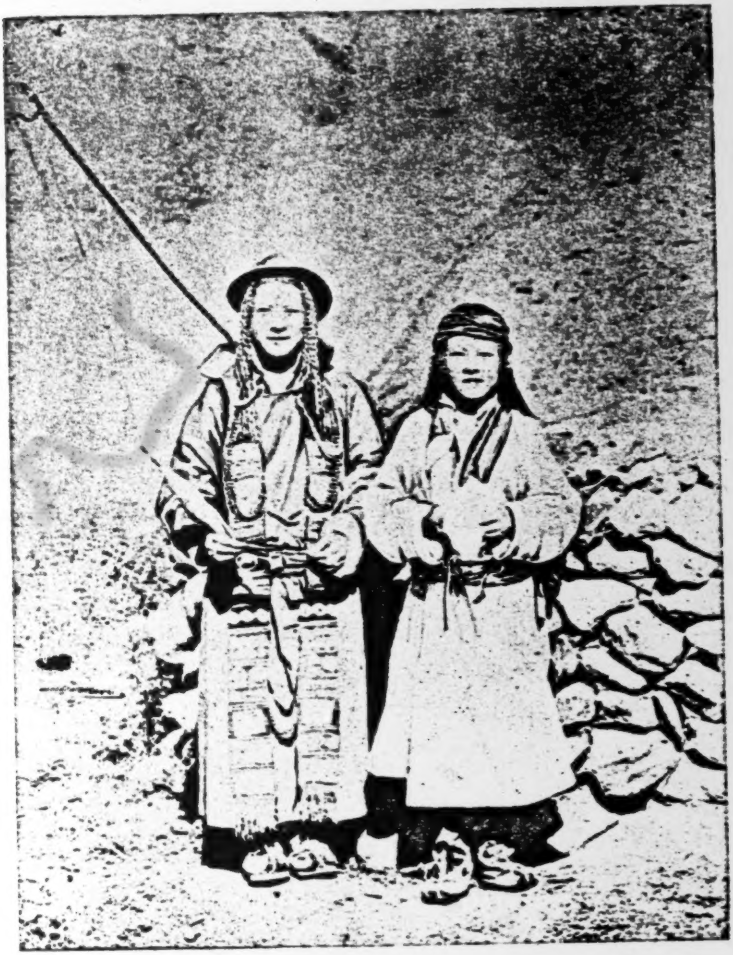

Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

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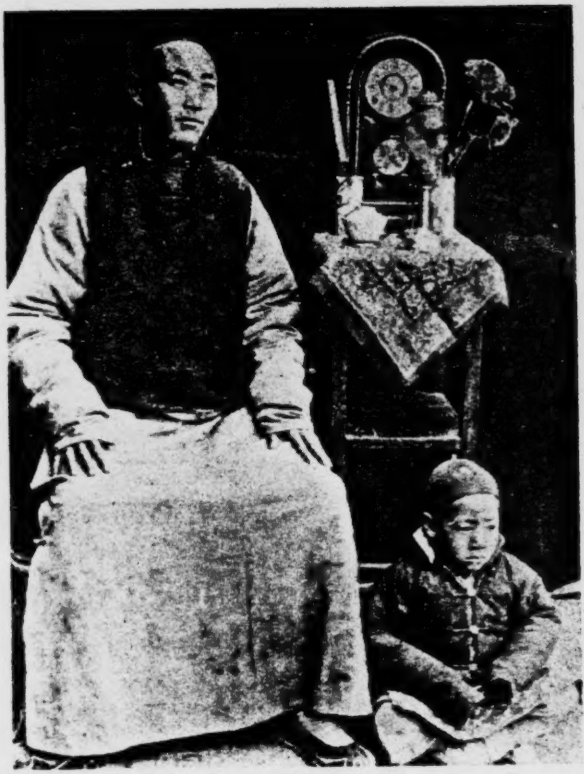

A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

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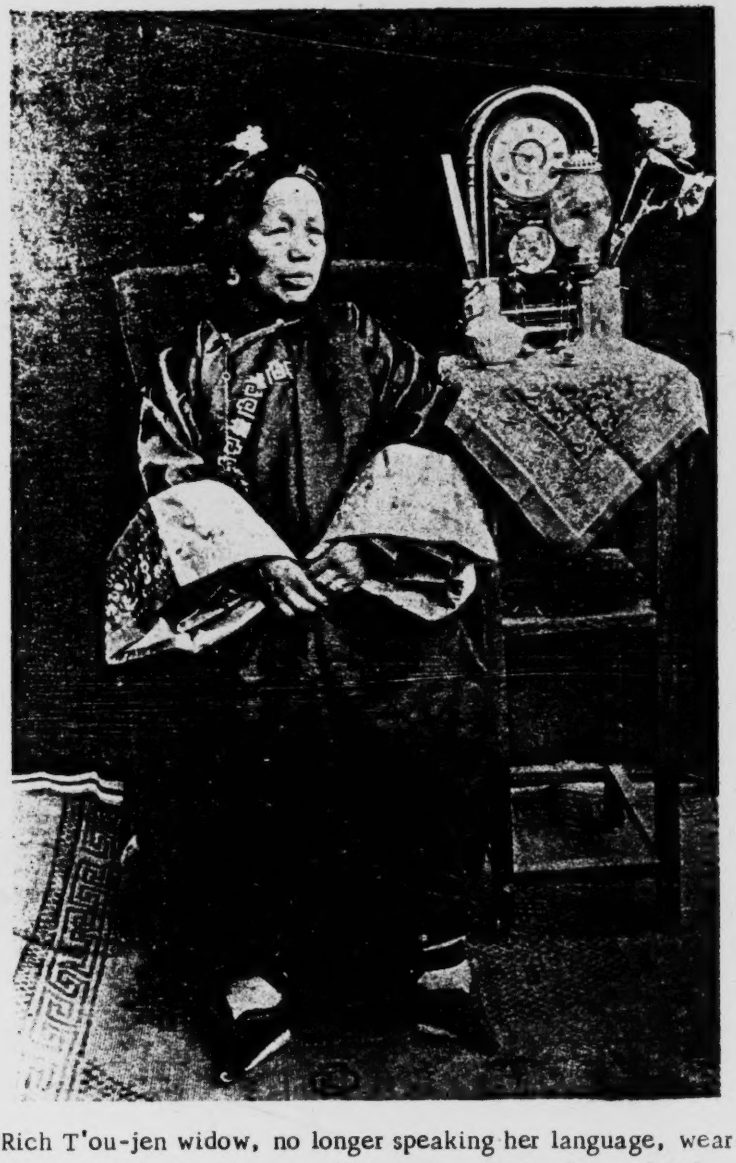

Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!